

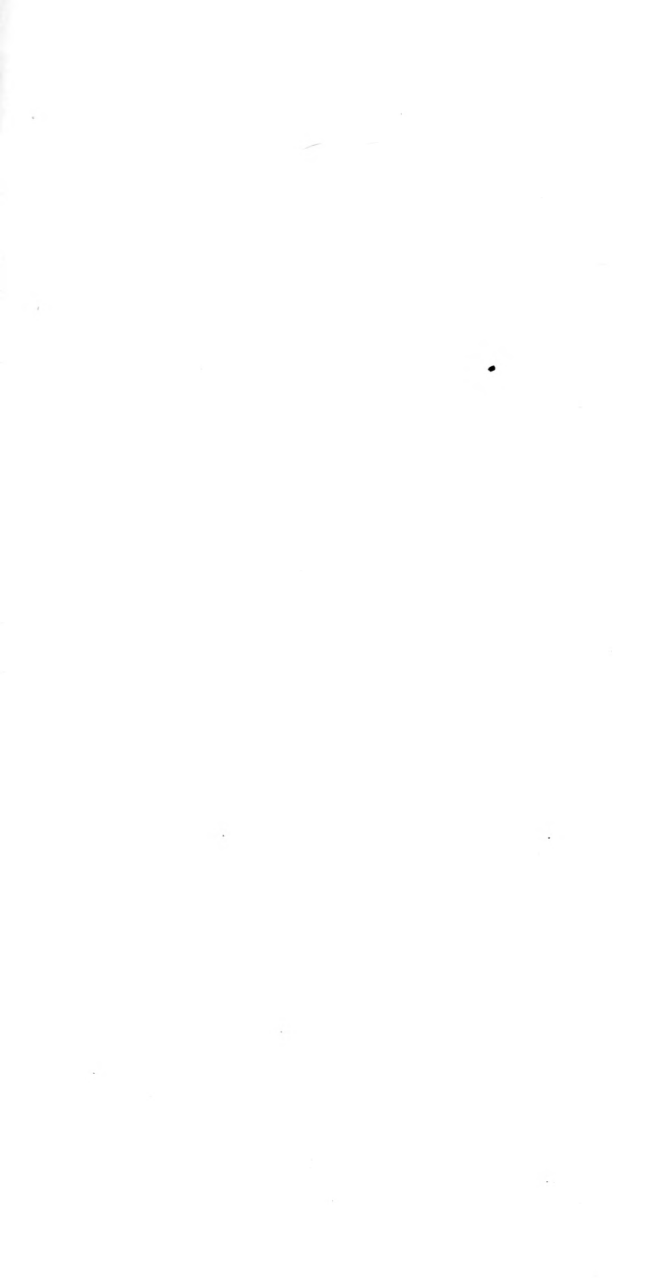
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FRIENDS' MISCELLANY:

BEING A COLLECTION OF

ESSAYS AND FRAGMENTS,

**BIOGRAPHICAL, RELIGIOUS, EPISTOLARY, NARRATIVE,
AND HISTORICAL;**

DESIGNED FOR THE PROMOTION OF PIETY AND VIRTUE, TO PRESERVE IN
REMEMBRANCE THE CHARACTERS AND VIEWS OF EXEMPLARY
INDIVIDUALS, AND TO RESCUE FROM OBLIVION
THOSE MANUSCRIPTS LEFT BY THEM,
WHICH MAY BE USEFUL TO
SURVIVORS.

The memory of the just is blessed.—*Solomon.*

Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.

John, vi. 12.

EDITED BY JOHN & ISAAC COMLY, BYBERRY.

VOL. II.—SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:

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No. 129 North Third Street.

1836.

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FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 1.]

TWELFTH MONTH, 1831.

[VOL. II.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF JOHN SIMPSON.

Among the Memorials of deceased Friends, published in Philadelphia in the year 1821, is a short account of John Simpson, issued by the Falls monthly meeting, in Bucks county—by which it appears that he was born the 23d of the 10th month, 1739. His parents, John and Hannah Simpson, were both members of the religious Society of Friends. His father died when he was about seven years old, leaving a widow and several small children, of whom John was next the eldest. His mother engaged in a second marriage with Robert Thompson, a Presbyterian, who lived at a mill near the river Delaware, remote from the neighbourhood and meetings of Friends.

In this situation, John Simpson and his younger brother, James, resided during their minority, and were exposed to much raw and loose company—by which they contracted many habits adverse to innocence and virtue, and at variance with the plainness and simplicity of a guarded education amongst Friends. They were brought up to the cooperating business, and during their youthful days, indulged in levity and mirth, but as they grew toward the state of manhood, both of them became more serious and circumspect. A change was gradually effected in their conduct and conversation; and although the two brothers were both under re-

ligious exercise, yet neither of them felt liberty or inclination to open his state of mind to the other. This circumstance might have been partly owing to their very different natural dispositions; both, however, afterwards became eminent men, and powerful ministers of the gospel.

By yielding obedience to the manifestations of the Spirit of Truth, and submitting to its operations, John Simpson became prepared for the reception of a gift in the ministry, in which he first made his public appearance about the twenty-sixth year of his age. Being faithful, he grew in his gift, so as to become an able minister of the gospel; for the promulgation of which, he travelled much in various parts of this continent, visiting Friends and other professors and inhabitants.

Having passed the latter part of his minority among the Presbyterians, he appeared to have imbibed a strong attachment to them, and ever after continued to entertain very liberal views of the principles, integrity, and uprightness of many of the members of that denomination. But, by faithfully following the dictates of Truth, he adhered scrupulously to the doctrines and discipline of the Society of Friends, of which he had been a birth-right member, and now, through the baptism of "the holy ghost and of fire," he became a plain, upright, and conscientious member.

It is highly probable, that it was from the example and conduct of those among whom his lot was cast in his juvenile years, that he imbibed the principles of defensive war; which, he has long since been heard to say, remained with him, though never called into action, until some time after he

appeared in the ministry. But, through the gradual unfoldings of Divine Light, his understanding at length became illuminated, and his judgment fully convinced that all carnal warfare, offensive and defensive, had its origin in the unsubdued lusts of the flesh, and was entirely opposite to the spirit of the gospel of Christ. Previous to this discovery, he had been careful, not only to avoid speaking on the subject, but also to conform to the established discipline and testimonies of Friends in relation to wars and military requisitions. Thus, giving a practical illustration of the advantages of wholesome rules and restraints in society.

From his observation of others, as well as from his own experience, John Simpson has been heard to remark, that in the operations and discoveries of the Divine principle in dedicated minds, he was fully persuaded that every man did not begin to learn at the same point of the Christian alphabet; (alluding to a child's learning its letters;) but that, as faithful obedience was yielded to the gradual arisings of Light, all would come into the fulness, and see eye to eye.

During the greater part of the life of John Simpson, his place of residence was in Bucks county.—His first settlement, after marriage, was about four miles from Wrightstown meeting of Friends, of which he was a member, and nearly the same distance from Buckingham. Here he purchased a tract of rough, hilly land, requiring much industry and toil in its cultivation and improvement, in order to produce a support for his rising family.

In this business he was assiduously engaged, rising early and working late—being also encum-

bered with debt, in the purchase of his farm, and having interest to pay—yet, through all, he diligently attended religious meetings, both on the first and other days of the week. Sometimes, when much wearied with toil and hardships, on thinking of his situation, he has said he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, “Thou knowest, O Lord, that I see no other way to get along.” He has also since remarked, on looking back to these days of his beginning in the active concerns and cares of life, that he thought it was of great advantage to him to begin poor and straitened. Hence, he drew the conclusion that it was much better for a young man to begin the world five hundred pounds in debt, than to have all things put into his hands by another—because that, by beginning in debt, habits of industry and economy were induced, which were of great use in after life. And by these means, every one had an opportunity of obtaining a comfortable living.

John Simpson was not only a friend to industry himself, but he brought up his children and family to habits of toil and care, fully equal to their powers of body and mind; and some of his neighbours, at times, thought in this respect he was going beyond the proper limits of moderation. However that might be, John consoled himself with the idea, that he could see no other way for him to get along. But in this way he did advance, both in temporal and spiritual improvement. While he was careful to keep the pursuit of “the kingdom” *first* and uppermost in his view, he found other things necessary for his comfort and well-being, in a plain and moderate way, were continually added thereunto. His sons soon became capable not only of

labouring in the field, but of taking care of his concerns at home while he was travelling in the service of Truth, or on the concerns of society abroad. His wife and daughters also bore their full share in his system of economy and industry; and thus their united exertions were blessed by the great Caretaker of the human family, as well in a religious as social and domestic relation.

During the summer season, when his children were young, and when his bodily exertions and care were most needed on his farm, he felt his mind easy to remain mostly at home; but after his crops were gathered, his hogs killed, and his fall work done, he generally was abroad on religious visits during the winter. His brother James, who resided with him, being of a tender, delicate constitution, as uniformly spent the winters at home, and was thus a useful companion to his otherwise lonesome family, in his absence.

In this review of the life of a dedicated servant, we may contemplate the wisdom and condescending goodness of the Divine Superintendent, apportioning his requirings of religious service so as not to interfere with his duties in relation to making provision for his family.

The following anecdote of John Simpson is so much in accordance with his general character, that we have no doubt of its authenticity—About the time that his daughters were grown up to mature age, a very advantageous opportunity presented of resuming and carrying on the coopering business: but, in doing this, it would be necessary for him to hire several journeymen coopers, and board them in his family. He looked at the prospect of advan-

cing his pecuniary interest, and in connexion with it, he prudently considered the state of his rising family. He knew that numerous cases had occurred, when, under similar circumstances, persons of loose principles had been introduced into families, and improper connexions formed, or other evils resulted, which embittered the remainder of life. He therefore relinquished the prospect of gain from this lucrative business, and pursued the convictions of prudence, tending to the welfare, the harmony, and the happiness of his family.

On a review of this circumstance, we cannot avoid the reflection, how many hours and days of painful anxiety and bitter regret might have been prevented, and how many precious innocent children might have been preserved to be a comfort to their parents in declining years, if the dictates of prudence and Truth had been consulted and adopted, in opposition to the love of gain, and the plans and devices of sordid avarice!

As his children grew up to the state of maturity, his circumstances in life and his religious experience also advanced. He became able to settle his children in a plain, moderate way, as they inclined to enter into matrimonial connexions. His travels for the promotion of truth and righteousness, were more and more extensive, embracing many sections of this continent, and frequently in places where no Friends had ever held meetings for religious purposes. Many fruits of his ministry and labours of love, were apparent among the various classes of his fellow-creatures, to whom, without respect of persons, or sectarian feelings, his heart glowed with gospel love and christian benevolence.

The simplicity of his manners, the plainness of his speech, and religious communications, the affability of his disposition, combined with the gravity of his deportment, and the overflowing of his heart, in affectionate solicitude for the welfare and improvement of all classes and colours of the human family, were conspicuous traits in his character, which endeared him to all who had opportunity of being acquainted with him, or partaking of the benefit of his labours. The familiarity with which he mingled with children and young people, and the numerous questions which he would propose, in order to interest and engage their attention, and then answer them himself whenever their diffidence or ignorance hesitated a reply, were means of improvement to the youth, for which he was peculiarly gifted and qualified. How frequently, amongst these simple interrogatories, embracing, perhaps, some plain and obvious Scripture history, or moral lesson, has deep instruction, counsel, reproof, or caution, been conveyed to the susceptible minds of his youthful audience. By this means, he encouraged the frequent perusal of the Scriptures, and other religious or useful publications; or called into exercise the powers and faculties of the sentient mind, in order that the rising generation might be furnished with substantial information, and acquire practical knowledge. For he did not admit a common gallery adage, that "knowledge is not wanting," in an unqualified sense. Instead thereof, he quoted the prophet of ancient days, as too much applicable to the present time,—“The people are destroyed for lack of knowledge:” but he was careful always to add, “because they reject knowledge”

when it is within their reach; and instead of the saving knowledge of God, and his law, they seek to be “replenished from the east,” with human wisdom, and to “become soothsayers, like the Philistines, and to please themselves in the children of strangers.”

Notwithstanding the observation made by some, that the common conversation of John Simpson was frequently one continued series of preaching, that he appeared to be so well versed in the Scriptures, as to be able to repeat any part of them and often to refer to them in his familiar discourse, yet his mind was stored with ample knowledge of natural things, and an extensive acquaintance with the affairs of civil as well as religious society.

In the Falls testimony concerning him, there are some traits in his character worthy of being revived for the benefit of survivors,—as he knew from experience that young people left to themselves, often spend their time unprofitably, especially on first-day afternoons, so he was frequently engaged to sit down with his family, in solid retirement; and, at times, had the Scriptures of truth read therein. That the benefits of such care might become more general, he was engaged to recommend the like practice to others. When differences or disunity arose, within his knowledge, he was zealously engaged to endeavour to bring about a settlement and reconciliation; for which service he was peculiarly gifted. On this latter subject, there remain some living witnesses to this day, even in places remote from his immediate neighbourhood.

In order to accommodate his sons in their settlement in life, and to prepare the way for his retiring

from the cares and toils of laborious business in his declining years, and having only his youngest son left in a single state, John Simpson purchased a farm in Byberry, and removed from Bucks county to reside on it in the year 1800, being the sixty-first year of his age. A certificate of the unity of his friends of Wrightstown monthly meeting, recommending him as a minister, with Ruth his wife, to Horsham monthly meeting, was produced and accepted in the 4th month; and John soon found a field of religious as well as manual labour, in the place of this new settlement. Early in the following year, he obtained a minute of the concurrence of his friends to visit the monthly meetings of Burlington Quarter and some others; in which journey, he was accompanied by his friend Joshua Gilbert, of Byberry. His next visit in the service of Truth was to Caln Quarter, and thence he travelled to Baltimore to see his friends. Also, in the 1st month, 1802, he was set at liberty to visit some families and meetings in New Jersey; and in the summer following, to make a religious visit to some of the back parts of Pennsylvania, and to Canada. Immediately after his return from this extensive and laborious journey, he again went into New Jersey to extend his labours of love to some families and meetings in that State. It may be proper to note, that generally on his return from these visits, he produced satisfactory testimonials of the unity and satisfaction of those among whom he had thus laboured.

In the 4th month, 1803, John Simpson opened his prospect of a visit to New York Yearly Meeting, and some other meetings northward. Thomas Knight, an elder, accompanied him in this journey.

His youngest son, James, having taken a wife, settled on the farm in Byberry, previous to this last mentioned tour; and thus, the father became more disengaged from worldly cares, and at liberty to attend to his religious concerns, which, as he advanced in life, appeared to increase and expand his heart in love to mankind universally, and in desires for the welfare and salvation of all. With this great object in view he laboured diligently in "the harvest," which he saw to be "plenteous," in order that there might be an ingathering to the fold of rest, and that the children of men might more and more come to sit under the true "vine and fig-tree, where none can make them afraid."

About the beginning of the year 1804, John Simpson and Ruth his wife, left Byberry and removed to Buckingham, in Bucks county, where they resided till the death of the latter, which occurred in the 3rd month of the following year.— After this privation, and when not engaged in travelling on his religious concerns, John resided with some one or other of his children, all of whom were married, and comfortably settled; till, in the year 1808, he took for his second wife, Ann Ingham, the widow of doctor Ingham, of Solebury. They were married at Frankford, and after a short residence there, they settled on a small farm or lot of land at the Falls, and became members of the Falls monthly meeting. In this situation they continued till the spring of the year 1810, when they set out on a removal to the State of Ohio, taking several of Ann's children with them. It appears that when John was travelling on a religious visit in this western country, a few years previous, he was so well

pleased with the fertility of the land, that he agreed for the purchase of a lot about sixty miles beyond Waynesville. After a toilsome journey, they arrived at the place of their intended habitation, and John went about clearing and making a settlement for the accommodation of his family.

How far this movement, in his seventy-first year, and when his bodily, if not his mental powers, were evidently declining, might have comported with the dictates of sound discretion, occasioned a doubt, at the time, in the minds of some of his friends and relatives. It may, however, be observed, that on his previous religious visit to Ohio, he was much pleased with the soil and the settlements of a large body of Friends there. And, finding an extensive field of religious service amongst the new settlers, which he conceived was not fully finished, he might have apprehended that, by a temporary residence in that country, his services in the ministry and in the discipline among Friends there, might be fulfilled to better advantage.

But, whatever were his private views, the undertaking to remove with his family to such a distance, and form a settlement in the woods, at his advanced stage of life, was calculated to awaken the fears, and to excite the earnest solicitude of his best friends and well wishers.

Some of the difficulties and trials attendant on this wilderness settlement, are referred to in the first of the annexed Letters to his former fast friend, Oliver Paxson, of New Hope, Bucks county. Oliver's reply to this Letter is inserted at page 31 in the first volume of Friends' Miscellany, and shows some of the views that were taken by him of this

movement. The second Letter of John Simpson to Oliver Paxson, appears to be designed to obviate some of the objections of the latter, in relation to Friends making settlements on lands not fairly purchased of the Indian natives.

John Simpson did not long enjoy his "goodly lot" of land, in Ohio. He appears, however, to have laboured faithfully in the line of his gift of gospel ministry, while there, much to the satisfaction and edification of his friends, and others in that country. Apprehending himself clear of further labours of this kind, his mind became easy to look towards returning to Pennsylvania; and, after having spent about a year in this western country, he set out with his family for that purpose. But the powers of nature were failing; his health was declining, and he was obliged to intermit his journey homewards, when he had reached Waynesville, about sixty miles from the place of his late residence. Here he lay some time, in a feeble condition, and at length departed this life, on the 30th of the 8th month, 1811, aged nearly seventy-two years. Friends of Miami Quarterly meeting, of which he was a member, thought right to give forth their Testimony concerning him; and as it exhibits the closing period of his active and useful life, it is here subjoined, as follows:

The Testimony of Miami Quarterly meeting, in the State of Ohio, concerning John Simpson, deceased.

As this, our beloved friend, closed the evening of his days in this country, we apprehend it might be proper for us to give some account of his labours

and services, during the short period of his residence within the limits of this Quarter.

He arrived, with his family, at Waynesville, on his way to his intended habitation near West-branch meeting house, a few days before our Quarterly meeting, in the 8th month, 1810, which he attended; and in which he appeared to be much favoured, being made the channel, through which flowed freely much salutary counsel, advice, and encouragement, to many minds.

Early in the 9th month, in company with some Friends of West-branch monthly meeting, he went to Cincinnati, and had a meeting there, much to his own and to the satisfaction of those who attended. Thence, to most of the meetings within the limits of Centre, Cæsar's Creek, and Miami monthly meetings; frequently appointing meetings where none were usually held; and, during the winter, visited most or all the other meetings, within the limits of our extensive Quarter; having been remarkably favoured with health, in his travels, during the severest part of this winter.

In the 3rd month following, he was taken with a severe illness; but recruited, so as to be able to attend our Quarterly meeting in the 5th month, though under considerable bodily indisposition.— On first-day night, the 15th of the 6th month, he uttered the following supplication: "Most righteous Father, thou knowest that a tried remnant yet continue to love thee, more than all things: be pleased, therefore, to go along with and support them through the heights, and through the depths, and the many trials that may be allotted to their portion: and enable them, O righteous Father, in every

dispensation of thy love, in the sincerity of their hearts, to ascribe unto thee the honour and the glory, forever and forevermore.”

His spirit was often engaged in prayer for the youth, and once in this manner: “O Father! that thou wouldst be pleased to pour out of thy Spirit upon sons and upon daughters!” And often invited those about him to come with him to the house of prayer, and pray with him, and for him.

A few days before his decease, he desired the following testimony to be taken down in writing, and spread among his friends, as his last legacy. He then observed, that “the nearer he drew to the close of life, the plainer he saw, and the clearer evidence he had, that the greatest deception satan practised upon mankind was, to persuade them that they could be Christians without *baptism*; that is, spiritual baptism: but it was his express desire, that they might not be deceived, but be willing to endure that baptism, which Christ was baptised with;” frequently repeating, “there is no other way—there is no other way.”

He often expressed that he had great peace of mind in having been obedient to what he believed to be his heavenly Father’s will, in coming to this western country, to finish his work; that it crowned his evening with joy, though it tended to lay his body far from his near and dear connexions,—to which he was resigned; that he was glad he had returned to Waynesville; for he felt himself among his friends: frequently saying, “I feel like one who has done his day’s work. I have fought a good fight, and all is well. Dust must return to dust.”

About half past twelve o’clock in the morning

of the 30th of the 8th month, 1811, he quietly departed this life; and on the morning of the 1st of the 9th month, his body, attended by a large number of Friends and others, was decently interred in Friends' burial ground, at Waynesville, with a solemnity suiting the occasion.

Signed in and on behalf of the aforesaid meeting, held the 9th of the 5th month, 1812, by

BENJAMIN HOPKINS, *Clerk.*

Letters to Oliver Paxson.

Beloved friend, Oliver Paxson—

From the time I saw thee last until we arrived at our intended home, was about six weeks. Fourteen days of the time were spent at Friends' houses, and attending meetings; so that we got quietly and comfortably on our way; and found the lot of land to appear exceeding goodly. I went about to improve it, with an intention to get things in order, so that I might go on my religious service. But, as the Lord and Master, when preparing for the ministry, was led into the wilderness, where satan did tempt and try him; so the poor servants do find, when preparing for this great work, a wilderness travail, and great temptations; such as none but the experienced can fully understand. And I thought mine as great as ever I had passed through; for it seemed as if I could not give up to leave my dear wife, until things were got in better order. But my state and condition seemed to be marvellously made known to my friends, who unitedly encouraged me to attend to my religious service. My

dear help-meet, an help-meet indeed! also gave me up so cheerfully, that I got comfortably on my way. Having attended a Quarterly meeting, and several monthly meetings to my comfort, and seeing such great numbers of goodly, well-concerned Friends, members of our society, so that I hope the discipline of the church will be carried on, to the honour to Truth.

But my greatest fear, for years past, has been that the dragon's tail is raised so high, and with such twistings and twinings, as to bewilder the church, like he did the Galatians of old, and to induce some to move in the affairs of the church before the change of heart is experienced, which our Lord spoke of; "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Oh! may this, like Israel's law, be written on the palms of the hands of every Christian professor; and especially of our society, who, like Israel of old, say, the Lord has given us more righteous laws than other nations.

There seems a great stir in this western part of the world, like crying, Lo! here is Christ, and lo! there. But I am afraid it will not prepare the way of the Lord, nor make his paths straight. Therefore, it seems much my business to revive that law and testimony given to our fathers, and to urge the progressive work of the reformation.

There seems great affection and kindness among those of our society, and also an open door amongst others; so that I marvel not that my lot is cast here at this time; and that I have been enabled to travel this long, mountainous, and wilderness journey, which did not appear as an hardship before I set out, neither has it been so: for, I expect my time

has been more comfortably spent since I saw thee last, than most of the years of those who may dwell in their ceiled houses.

As to my dear children, it seems sealed on my mind, that this deep trial to them will work for good, in bringing them more into baptism and deep searching of heart, than my presence. Oh! may thee have a fatherly care toward them, and sympathize with them: for their trials may be twofold, because my late movements seem to spend much of my outward property, which they and I have an attachment to, as others have.

But, dear Oliver, I do believe that I could say "thy kingdom come, thy will be done," at this time, with more sincerity and truth, than ever I could before. For, as Moses told the children of Israel, that the Lord led them through that great and long wilderness, to humble them, so this has been to me humiliating. Indeed, had not the cloud by day and the fire by night been with me, also brotherly sympathy, I should have sunk, and have thought, can Friends of Pennsylvania feel for me, and pray for me, now in this trying time? But, blessed be the Lord, can every faithful seryant say, and that his mercy endureth forever; and a new song is put into their mouths, even praises and thanksgiving,—that we are worthy to pass through those baptisms, in order that we may learn of him who was meek and low of heart, so as to find rest to our souls.

I am now some distance from home, travelling on horseback, which I have been enabled to bear like the rest of my long journey; and never had more comfortable evidence of being in the way of

my duty, nor greater desires for the welfare of souls. I have also awful fears that many professors of Christianity, when weighed in the balance, will find themselves greatly wanting,—even wanting the answer of, “Well done, good and faithful servant.” For the command was to all, “Watch and pray.” And Moses wished that all the Lord’s servants were prophets, and that he would pour out his Spirit upon them. Oh! the light and trifling conversation of professors has been a proof that they are not of this number; for those who fear the Lord speak often one to another, and the Lord hearkens and hears.

Now, if I have any thing to say about this western part of the world, it is, that it far exceeds my former prospect, in extensive country and goodness of soil; likewise inland water navigations, and also out to sea. Abundance of towns are building on those waters, and settlements rapidly increasing; also a wonderful increase of healthy and beautiful children; and such great numbers of our society, of well meaning people, who are made very near to me. And it would be pleasant to see my offspring, above any other place I have seen, in all my long travels; but I wish none to move here, without coming and seeing, and judging for themselves. For when I look sixty or seventy years back, in Pennsylvania, when wheat was carried on horseback many miles, and sold under three shillings a bushel, and other things in proportion, I believe this country is increasing every way as fast as Pennsylvania did, in so early a period of time.

I am willing the contents of this letter should be

known to my connexions and friends, who never felt more near and dear to me.

Thus I bid thee farewell, and remain thy friend and brother,

JOHN SIMPSON.

Ohio, the 24th of the 5th month, 1811.

Dear friend, Oliver Paxson—

I received thy letter joyfully, and read it attentively. It brought to my remembrance, that in years past, I was exceedingly concerned on account of Friends settling back. But when I took the prophet's advice, to lift up mine eyes round about and see, I beheld with sorrow the state of slavery, (which I think no one can judge of, except they were amongst it,) and seeing my friends living amongst those people, where it seemed almost to sink my spirits only to travel; it seemed as if I could be glad to see them and their tender offspring separated from those who held slaves; and no land appeared to open so clear as the State of Ohio. So that, I believe ministering Friends, with one voice, advised their friends that were settled among slaveholders, to move from them. And I believe, had thou been among them, as I was, and felt as I did, thou would have given them the same advice.

As to the land of Ohio being stained with blood, where is the land, except a small part of Pennsylvania, but what may be said to be stained with blood? That amidst so many difficulties, let us try to do for the best. The yearly incomes given to the Indians, makes it more easy, to many minds, at this time.

Now, I may inform thee that I have been made thoughtful in seeing such great numbers of our society here; so that when I was among them, at last Quarterly meeting, I felt desirous to know whether it was the heavenly Father's will that Friends should so flock to this land—and something like the remarks of Gamaliel occurred, that the Lord's work would be blest. What else could have supported such great numbers (some very old, and some young) through such long, mountainous journeys, and enabled them to settle such a wilderness land, in so comfortable and joyful a manner as they generally seemed in? As I have been much among the people, it is cause of thankfulness to find them so well satisfied, and thankful for their move. Although some, in quick dislike to the place, moved back, yet came a second time, and now seem glad in being here.

As for my own part, when in this place near five years ago, my mind was deeply thoughtful, on seeing such numbers removed here; and I expected I should have to come again; for so it seemed with me, concerning my journey to Canada, which I had long thought of, but could not see my way clear to go any other way than I did. So now, the way I have come here, seems the right way to me: for surely I turned the fleece, like Gideon, according to my capacity, as long as I durst. And when I went to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, having leave of the Quarterly meeting, and thinking I might clear myself, I wrote to my dear wife, letting her know my deep trials concerning Ohio. She wrote back that she thought we might have to go there, but not at that time. As it continued, in time, I

laid it before my friends, and have thus moved; and truly the hardship of moving was made easy, taking many meetings, and being much with our friends. For when at York-town, I felt as if I ought to appoint some meetings, and called John Brown and Samuel Moon, with some of York Friends in the same station, together, and held a council concerning it. They very freely encouraged me to attend to what appeared to be my duty; and I felt peace in appointing some meetings on our way. In about six weeks we got to our lot of land, where we have been building, digging a well, clearing land, making a garden, and planting an orchard; and are now thinking to build an addition to our house, for the girls to have a place to keep school in.

Now, dear Oliver, can thee not believe that I have enjoyed as much comfort, and lived as easy, and also been faithful in the service of Truth, as if on my little lot at the Falls? In this, my friends each may judge. But surely, I have felt a comfortable evidence, through sickness and health, for I have had a hard spell of sickness since being here; and in all these trials, I felt glad to be here, and as willing to be buried here as elsewhere. The parting with my near and dear children was made easy, fully believing it would open a door to more religious thoughtfulness, than my presence among them.

I have often had to mention, in my trying moments, that the Lord did make my bed in sickness; and showed unto me the necessity of a full dedication of heart in all his servants, especially his ministers, and those appointed as elders—as watchmen.

over the flock: and that the enemy is deceiving us at this day, as he did the foolish Galatians in their day. May the watchmen not lie down, loving to slumber, but faithfully warn the people, so as to be clear of their blood. Oh! how great is the harvest! May the prayers of every servant be put up in sincerity of heart, for faithful labourers to be sent forth into the Lord's vineyard.

I feel it my duty to be industrious, as long as ability is given: and I believe I have been comforted in all my trials, since I left my dear friends in Bucks county, as much as if I had been with them; and my service as acceptable and useful here, as elsewhere. And though many, who have had a harder life than I have, may think my lot hard, yet I was enabled to travel last winter, even on horseback, through the cold; and the Father's love, and the love and tender care of my friends, were my joy and support.

My love is to my dear friends in Bucks county. So in brotherly love, I bid thee farewell, and remain thy friend,

JOHN SIMPSON.



In memory of Sarah F. Corlies, deceased.

Ah! what avails my pen to tell,
The living worth that used to dwell
In this fair tenement of clay,
Whose brighter part has soared away,
In endless bliss to dwell?

Though earth this beauteous frame confine,
Still shall her memory ever shine—
Sweet records of her deeds divine,

 In many a heart shall glow.

The poor within their lone recess,
The widow'd heart shall weep, and bless

 The friend of want and woe:

And many an orphan tear shall shine,

Dear saint! as they remember *thine*.

Still the wide earth is all the Lord's,

And he each bounteous gift affords;

 His blessings o'er the world distils;

His the rich bounties of the flood,

The air, the mountain, and the wood,

 And cattle of a thousand hills.

And though thy stewardship is o'er,

 And thou hast gain'd the rich reward;

Yet he, whose influence fill'd thy breast,

With feelings for the poor distress'd,

May by another, make them bless'd,

 For he alone is Lord.

Oh! may he make thy child his care,

 May he his mother's mantle wear!

And thy lov'd partner, left behind,

 A portion of thy spirit bear.

Sarah F. Corlies was a daughter of Samuel R. Fisher of Philadelphia, and the wife of Jacob W. Corlies. She left an infant son, named Samuel Fisher Corlies, after having enjoyed the marriage connexion with her "loved partner" about seventeen months.

She departed this life the 22nd day of the 11th month, 1830—aged about thirty-six years.

A near friend and relative, while under the pressure of feelings occasioned by this event, writes thus:—

“Our sweet and precious Sarah Corlies was released from all her sufferings and pains, about half past one o’clock yesterday afternoon. The feelings which attend our minds, when we contemplate our loss, we cannot express. While living, we were sensible of her excellence in the most prominent and exalted Christian virtues. But now, although with every assurance of her being translated to a happier state of existence among the spirits of the purified and humble disciples of the Cross, yet we cannot but mourn and weep. And how natural for humanity to deplore the removal of those who have endeared themselves by their goodness, even though our religious convictions persuade us that we should bow submissively to his Divine will, who doeth all things right.”



REMARKS ON EDUCATION,

By Dr. John Watson, of Bucks County.

“If there be such a thing as pure and perfect joy upon earth, it is that which fills the heart of a parent when he hears of the wisdom, the virtue, and the prosperity of a darling child. If there be sorrow that admits not of consolation, it is the sorrow of a father for the vice or folly of an ungenerous, thankless son, and for the misery in which he has plunged himself.” These are the just reflections

of H. Hunter, on the varied experience of the old patriarch Jacob, in relation to his numerous offspring, suited to the time when he went down into Egypt to see his long lost son Joseph.

Although much might be justly said in commendation of the state of manners in society in many parts of this country; yet there are many exceptions to be remarked with equal propriety: and one of them, much to be regretted as the primary cause of many others, is the want of due subordination in families, and the regular maintenance of parental authority; and the consequence is, that parents, like good old Jacob, have had to feel a sorrow that admits of no consolation, because of their children's vices or follies: perhaps arising principally from their own neglect or misconduct in the manner of educating them while they were young. The errors are various and opposite. The first to be noticed is, the endeavour to establish authority through the medium of fear, in loud and harsh commands, peevish scolding, and ultimately, in corporal punishments, without discretion or mercy. The hardships of body and mind, which some poor children suffer, under the unnatural tyranny of their parents, and especially of their mothers, has an effect to benumb their senses, and to spoil the finer feelings of the heart; and thereby, evil seems to become hereditary in families through successive generations. If the disorder cannot be cured in those who are already grounded in such wrong habits, let us endeavour to cultivate better sentiments and practices among the numerous hopeful rising youth of our country, and to teach them better things.

In Europe, the spirit of the government in ancient times was arbitrary and vindictive; and tended to harden and sour the minds of the people of all ranks. Ignorance and superstition served to increase the impression of severity and cruelty; and a rigorous domestic discipline became involved with the idea of religious duty; and no doubt but that our predecessors, both male and female, brought over sea with them a full portion of the tart habits and manners of their early education. Petty criminals were tortured at the cart's tail—the terrible vindex of a schoolmaster employed the hickory and the ferrule, and the heads of families kept up the chorus of uproar, by scolding, boxing, and whipping, without mercy or measure. But as the united influence of religion, liberty, and learning, has advanced, these gothic terrors have gradually lowered away, and only some vestiges of the darkness and cruelty of old times remain, chiefly in a few schools, and among some of the lower class of the people, where the influence of humanity does not sufficiently prevail. But harshness disappoints its own purpose, and rather excites rebellion than obedience: and if you meet with persons of coarse untutored manners, and unfeeling sentiments, you may safely conclude, that those hard dispositions were scolded, boxed, and whipt into them, when they were young.

But a direct reverse of wrong is not, therefore, always right; and it is to be feared that we have too generally relaxed and abated the restraints of self-will in children, almost into a total neglect of the important duty of superintending their religious and moral education: and hence arises a plentiful source of disconsolate sorrows for the afflicted parents.

Perhaps the purpose was, to prepare the son or daughter to make a figure in the world; but there are many dangers of vices and follies, in that flattering element, and they cannot be too strictly guarded against at an early period of life: the subject requires no less than the unremitting and judicious exercise of a religious principle.

How sorrowful indeed it is, when the fond hopes of anxious parents are blasted by the misconduct of a darling child! And yet, how often is the principal cause directly to be traced to their own mismanagement or neglect in the course of their education. Aiming to be great, and to be people of rank, taste and fashion, as the amiable St. Pierre says—striving to be foremost, has done a great deal of mischief, and is mostly a compilation of trifling vanity, founded on erroneous principles.

When young people take the liberty to go when and where they please, especially on the first day of the week, perhaps seldom to attend any place of public worship, they are very liable to get beyond the restraints of parental authority, and to ramble at large in the wide field of unprofitable liberty, where they will soon find plenty of associates like themselves, ready to think and act agreeably to the impulse of the moment.

Young persons, just commencing the charge of a rising family, would find their interest in establishing an influence over their children by uniformly setting them a good example in their own conduct and conversation. Teach them right sentiments in a sociable way. Children are apt to imitate those they love best, and they will value your company if you make it agreeable. In short, conciliate their

love and esteem in the most natural manner. Let them plainly see that the main intention of your care over them, is, to promote in their tender minds a religious watchfulness over all their words and actions. Let your commands and restraints be such as ought to be obeyed, and there will be no excuse to transgress them. Finally, love your children—keep a vigilant watch over them—judge correctly what is best for them—prefer religion as their best interest—and endeavour as much as possible to keep them out of the company and acquaintance of the vitiated and corrupting part of mankind, as you would avoid being instrumental in bringing upon yourselves “that sorrow that admits of no consolation.”

J. W.



ESTHER PEASLEE.

Some account of the last sickness and death of Esther Peaslee, daughter of Amos and Sarah Peaslee, of Greenwich township, Gloucester county, New Jersey, who departed this life the 24th of the 3rd month, 1828, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

“The memory of the righteous is blessed.” Blessed to those who are stimulated by their pious example to “walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing.”

For several years her health seemed rather delicate, but nothing alarming occurred till about the 1st of 4th mo. 1827; when, soon after retiring for the night, she was attacked with a slight hemorrhage from the lungs. On the following morning, before she rose from her bed, there appeared to her

mental view, a small needle, which snapped in two; and, as she expressed, it struck her mind that her time here would not be long. From that period she appeared very much to cast the world and all its glories behind her back. A few days after, a repetition of the same discharge, with increased violence, alarmed the family, and seemed to call for medical assistance. She was, accordingly, taken to Philadelphia; but could not be persuaded to stay long from home. She soon returned, rather fatigued, and continued from that time gradually declining, being more or less subject to the discharge of blood from her lungs, until about the last of the 9th month, when she was seized with an attack of the bilious fever. From that time, she was mostly confined to her room and bed, till her close: during which period, the following expressions, or nearly so, were uttered by her.

1st mo. 19th, 1828. She expressed a great desire to have an interview with her father; but said, "I have always thought so much of him, that when he enters the room, it overcomes me, so that I can hardly speak." She was encouraged to seek for strength, and not to grieve; for way would be opened for her to relieve her mind. Soon after, on her father's coming in and sitting down, she said, "I have been for three or four years, seeking to know the Lord for myself: and though it was long before I found him, being sorely buffeted by my soul's enemy, yet at length I found the quiet habitation. Since that, in my sharpest afflictions, I feel my mind carried away, in joy unspeakable and full of glory." Adding, "I feel nothing but love, joy, and rejoicing. Will this do, dear father, to depend upon and trust

to?" Her father replied, it was the saints' hope; and it is a sweet sense of the Divine presence; it constitutes heaven, or a foretaste of the fruition of eternal bliss. She then said, that through the most of her sickness, she had entertained some faint hope of recovery; but now felt much resigned.

At another time, she said to her mother,—“It will be but a short time, before it will be said, poor Esther is gone. Well—all looks joyful, and I have given up every thing but my dear *father*. I have a precious father, and with him it is hard parting.” Afterwards said, “A few evenings since, soon after I closed my eyes, I thought there was a beautiful little bird presented before me, and put into my hand; and while I was admiring its innocent, dove-like appearance, I heard a voice which said, ‘This is a bird from paradise.’” At another time she observed, “I feel more comfortable this morning than I did yesterday. It then seemed as though there was something that I had not given up, but nothing criminal; no, no: it was my dear father: but now I have given all up, and the prospect is both bright and clear, and sweeter than honey to my soul. I am thankful that I have been favoured to use endeavours in seeking to the alone Source of true consolation; for it has its abundant reward.”

Speaking of her brother, she said, “he has gone through much. I hope he will not lose it.” Then of an intimate friend who was at a distance, said, “Poor dear—she has had many trials and afflictions to pass through, but undoubtedly they have all been for her good.” At another time, calling for her sister, who came and sat by her, she looked steadfastly at her for some time; then said, “I feel for thee, my

dear sister." Here it seemed as though the fulness of her feelings prevented her utterance. But, in a while, on resuming her usual calmness, she observed, "I am glad there is a prospect of thy having a female companion, as a resident in the family." Her sister expressing her resignation, in the hope of being willing to leave *that* to the will of Providence, who, she thought, had often watched over and cared for her; Esther replied, "I am glad to see thee more resigned; for thy situation has quite worried me."

Here it may be observed, that however poignant our feelings, we were constrained to conceal them, or withdraw, and not appear in her presence but with a cheerful countenance; otherwise she would say, "it distresses me exceedingly to see you grieve." On this subject, her feelings were so acute, that even a suppressed sigh would excite her tender sensibility, querying why we were so cast down.

Addressing one of her youthful companions, to whom she seemed particularly attached, she said, "It has been about four years, that I have endeavoured to stand firm against sin. But oh! the buffetings that attend those who set their faces toward Zion." Then said, "I think I have experienced more pleasure on this sick bed, than ever I did in all my life before. I have often had the grave brought to my view; but it brought no unpleasant prospect with it. I have thought that my time was not yet come; but on being more unwell than I had been, I thought I must give all up, and felt very happy in so doing." A little after said, "Our family comes so fresh before me, that it has seemed hard to part with them; but I am fully resigned."

One evening, alluding to some past season as is supposed, she said, "I cannot tell how I felt: it seemed as though I was gone from here and carried away: the sight I beheld was so beautiful I cannot express it." Then cheerfully said, "The spring is coming, and the singing of birds, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

At another time, two of her intimate friends being present, she looked at them with a sweet smile, and exclaimed, "Oh! I am happy—happy! My soul is exceedingly rejoiced, though under great distress of body; but the Lord is precious—Oh! seek him." One of her brothers coming into the room, and asking her how she was, she said, "I am very poorly indeed: but my bed is made soft and easy"—answering to the heavenly experience of the sweet Psalmist, who in allusion to Infinite Goodness, says, "thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness."

2nd mo. 21st, 1828. On being helped up and placed in her easy chair, she viewed her hands and said, "I suppose it will not do to think of getting well again." Her mother asked her if she had any desire to get well again: she replied, "Sister grieves so much about being left alone, that if I were sure that I should live a righteous life, I should be willing to live: but I would not live a wicked life for mountains of gold." At another time, on her father's entering the room, she said, "I have been long seeking, earnestly seeking for resignation to the Divine will; and I don't know that I now have any choice whether to live or die; except it should please Divine Goodness to raise me up again. I have sometimes felt very poor and destitute, but never gave over seeking, till I had found true peace."

Alluding to an early period of her sickness, she once said to her mother, "I have suffered much in body, but have been wonderfully supported in mind. I had a sore conflict for about one week. It seemed as though every thing that I had ever done, was brought before me: and after that, my mind was covered with a sweet calm, and has continued so during the most of the time." One day, speaking of the changes of her disorder, said, "Sometimes when I feel so much better, it seems as though I might get well again: then it comes before my mind, why am I carried away in such raptures, if I was going to live in this world."

At a certain time, on hearing her mother converse with a friend in an adjoining room, she queried, "Why does mother talk so mournful? I fear it is concerning me. I do not want any body to mourn for me. I think my change will be a happy one. I don't know that I have any reason to doubt it." On the following evening she said, "When I close my eyes, it seems as though I was ascending, and saw beautiful white robes, shining." One day, looking at the family, she said, "I feel great resignation in you all"—and she wished her love might be sent to her near relations in distant parts, and to all her young friends. "Tell them," said she, "I wish them all to do well, and seek the pearl of great price. It is as a constant running stream, causing our peace to flow as a river, whose waves succeed each other." To one of her attendants, who had been with her most of the time, she observed, "What a pleasant room this has been to me! Have we not had many precious meetings together? And I hope we shall meet hereafter, where parting will be no more.—"

Thou must be a comforter to my dear sister. Do all in thy power to console her. I know she will feel lonesome, but I hope not forsaken by the great Comforter."

On the 1st of the 3rd month, she said, "Well, I have lived to see this month come in, but shall not live to see it go out. I have no desire to have my life prolonged." Another time she said, "These words are continually before me, 'When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.—When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned. Fear not; for I have redeemed thee.'"

Not long before her final close, she remarked, "It dont seem as though I was on earth, I am so exceedingly happy. I feel as though I was going into the arms of my Saviour; and should be glad to go this night." Then said, "How long! how long! But not my will, but thine be done."

On seventh-day, the 22nd, towards evening, she spoke very cheerfully, and said, "I think my close is very near. I am carried away in such continual raptures. Bid all farewell for me. It may be I shall not be able to speak." After this she seemed to have no more to do, but patiently to wait for her desired change.

Thus, this dear lamb and servant of Christ finished her works, and ended her course; gently heaving her last sigh without a struggle: and we have no doubt, ascended to that holy habitation, where none of the inhabitants can say, I am sick.

HUSON LANGSTROTH.

From information obtained, it appears that he was a native of Ireland, and came to America when a youth. He was placed apprentice, or was otherwise in the employment of Morris Truman, who carried on the paper making business near Darby, in Pennsylvania. Huson was his carter; and while driving his team to and from Philadelphia, it was remarked that his manners were raw and uncouth, and his language vulgar and profane. Whatever might have been the disadvantages of his early education, and his exposures to the contaminating influence of vicious companions, yet the visitations of Divine Light had not forsaken him. And it is probable, that being placed in a Friend's family, and having the opportunity of attending religious meetings, his mind was thereby strengthened to attend more carefully to the "reproofs of instruction, which are the way of life."

Some time previous to the expiration of his term of service with M. Truman, he became more serious and thoughtful; and as he yielded to the convictions of Truth, and took up the cross to his natural inclinations, he was preserved in such circumspection of conduct and deportment, that in the 10th mo. 1782, he was received into membership with Friends at Darby monthly meeting. About the time of his reception into membership, he came forth in public testimony in the line of the ministry, and being faithful in occupying the gift conferred on him, he advanced in the exercise thereof to the comfort of the living; insomuch that it is said when John Pemberton returned from his nearly seven years visit in

Europe, in the year 1789, he remarked that Huson Langstroth had increased more in the ministry during his absence, than any other young minister of his acquaintance in America.

In the 3d month, 1785, he was recommended by certificate from Darby, to the monthly meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for the Southern District. Not long after, he married, and settled in the city, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his days. During his residence in the city, as appears by the date, he wrote and published a Watch-word to Friends. It breathes a spirit of pure love, and manifests his heart-felt concern for the safety and preservation of Friends, at a time when it might be said, "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." With a hope that the excellent counsel it contains may be useful at this day, we deem it right to re-publish it; believing also that it is worthy of preservation, being the only Testimony of his dedicated mind that we have seen on record.

Huson Langstroth was removed by the yellow fever, which prevailed in Philadelphia in the year 1793.

A WATCH-WORD

In Love to Friends in this Land.

DEAR FRIENDS,—

Inasmuch as the Lord in his great mercy, for wisest purposes, hath called us as a people to maintain a distinguished testimony to the light and knowledge of the inward and spiritual appearance of his son Jesus Christ, whose meek and peaceable government appeared with lustre in many of our

worthy predecessors, insomuch that they became a spectacle of wonder to the nations beholding their peaceable principles and conduct, being concerned for gathering the people unto Christ their Shepherd, and his peaceable government and kingdom, more than for the securing their safety by setting up, or pulling down earthly powers; and, being made sensible, from a degree of solid experience, that were the minds of the people in this day of gospel light and power, subjected to its holy influence, they would witness a redemption from that spirit of strife and contention, which is sorrowfully prevalent in this depraved age. And inasmuch as the Lord in his mercy unmerited, and great condescension, hath continued to favour us in this day with a degree of his divine presence and power, which a remnant evidently experience, to their mutual comfort and encouragement; under a sense thereof, I would feelingly entreat you, dear friends and brethren, to remember that we have lately passed through a day of great commotion and distress, wherein the foundations of many were tried and shaken, and ruin seemed to threaten; the prospect of which brought many into the valley of deep humiliation, where they were led to enter into covenant with the Lord our God; in which day of covenant making, the cries of the humble and contrite spirits reached his holy ear; who was pleased in his matchless goodness to condescend to the low estates of his people, and set as it were an hedge about us, preserving us as in the hollow of his hand, so that we experienced a wonderful deliverance.

Now seeing that storm hath passed over, and the spirit which sought our ruin seemeth to be at peace

with us, or rather, if I should say, hath transformed into an appearance of soliciting our friendship, and would if possible draw us after it; let us beware, dear friends, and carefully watch over our own spirits, often recurring to a remembrance of the day of covenant making, and inquiring in the temple of our hearts individually after him who called us out of the spirit and commotions of the world, and caused us to experience Jerusalem to be a quiet habitation; wherein alone will be our safety, and the Lord who then in mercy preserved us, will continue to be our only sure guide and counsellor. Dear friends, attend to his leadings and counsel, and beware of the friendship of the world; for, however it may appear clothed with specious pretences, it will prove to be a snare and an enemy, as to our progress in the way of truth and righteousness.

I have beheld the confusions and commotions of the present times; and as I have been led to look around me, over the Lord's little flock that is scattered up and down in this land, prayers have been begotten in my heart to him the great Shepherd of Israel, that he would be pleased to preserve them from the dangers to which they are exposed; being made sensible that nothing but a watching unto prayer, and keeping a single eye unto the great Shepherd and Governor of the whole earth, can be the means by which we shall obtain sure preservation. I would therefore feelingly entreat all friends every where, that they labour for a settlement on that Foundation which standeth steadfast. To thy tents, O Israel! God is thy tent; and as we dwell in him, neither divination nor enchantment can prevail against us.

Beware that we mix not with the people, neither run with them into a party spirit, to join in setting up, or putting down any; for know, dear friends, that from thence arises cause of great contention, with which we can have no unity as followers of him who was meek and low of heart.

Let us often recur to the divine principle we hold forth to the world; I am persuaded it would have a good tendency; our minds would thereby be awakened on all occasions to look unto the end of all things temporal; and as we become rightly sensible that "here we have no continuing city," we shall be the more concerned to have an interest in that city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

If we duly consider the great end for which we are called, and distinguished by such a degree of spiritual light and knowledge (that the declaration made to Israel of old, seems not unapplicable to us, "You above all the families of the earth have I known") we should be led to consider every step we took on all occasions, lest we defeat the gracious purpose of him who hath marvellously raised us up, and preserved us to be a people, engaged to hold up an ensign unto the nations, an ensign of the meek and peaceable government of Christ our Saviour.

And, dear friends, I have this testimony to bear, being firm in the faith, that were we sufficiently attentive to this pure inward principle agreeable to our profession, the Son of righteousness would shine in us with lustre, and the rays of his divine light and glory would more effectually reach the minds of the surrounding nations, whereby we should become as "a city set on a hill that could not be hid;" the light of which could not be evaded.

Suffer me therefore in that love which seeketh only the honour of him who hath called us, to entreat all, that they beware of the little foxes that have often spoiled the tender vines; for there are many things which appear small and lawful in the eyes of the world, and may be, and I believe are almost insensibly run into; but when brought to the light of truth, and viewed with an eye of designing improvement, are of great magnitude, and have become as heavy burdens, laying a foundation for deep anxiety and distress to the minds of those who have desired to journey heaven-ward. Therefore I would have us all to watch, that we be not hurried into the commotions of the day, of however great moment the occasion may appear in the eyes of the world, and not so much as to put forth a finger for the setting up, or putting down of any; lest we exclude ourselves in a day of trial and affliction which may await us, from a happy recourse to that Tower (the name of the Lord) unto which the righteous in all ages have fled and found safety; but let us be weighty in our spirits, “wise as serpents, harmless as doves;” looking with steady attention unto our holy Head and High Priest, waiting for his gentle leadings, that our conduct and conversation among the people may be in the innocence and simplicity of truth, maintaining our Christian testimony in its various branches with that firmness and consistency, that becometh us a highly favoured people: then would our Zion appear beautiful among the nations, adorned with the robes of righteousness, and we should contribute more to our own peace and safety, and the real welfare of the people, than by any hand of outward assistance that we could possibly lend them.

From an apprehension of religious duty I communicate these lines, and, with the salutation of love, am your real friend,

HUSON LANGSTROTH.

Philadelphia, 11th month 9th, 1787.



A testimony from Horsham monthly meeting concerning James Thornton, Jr.

He was born the 28th of the 10th month, 1761. His parents, James and Mary Thornton, members of Byberry particular meeting, were careful to give him a guarded and religious education; for which he retained a thankful remembrance. He early became acquainted with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which preserved him in a good degree from the vanities of youth, and induced him to love plainness and sobriety while young. By a watchful attention to this Divine principle, he attained a pious and innocent stability of conduct in life; whereby he became truly an example to the youth of his day. He was a diligent attender of religious meetings, and a living example when there, by getting into a religious exercise; and labouring in an awful, humble disposition of mind, for that bread which strengthens and nourishes the inner man. And when returning from our meetings, it was believed, by observing the solid frame of mind he appeared to be in, that he had been favoured to have access to the throne of grace.

He was much inclined to retirement; and instead of associating with other youth on first-day afternoons, he would often spend it in sitting with his parents, (to whom he was a dutiful son) reading the

holy Scriptures or some other religious books—and having an eye to the recompense of reward, he grew in grace, and in the saving knowledge of the Lord.

He was taken ill the 6th of the 6th month, 1794, and his disorder rather increasing, he said he believed his time here would not be long, and that it was necessary for him to labour to experience an entire resignation to the Divine will, whether to live or die: which we believe he was mercifully favoured to experience. His mind often appeared to be filled with the sweet incomes of Divine goodness, saying, “Oh! the goodness of a merciful God to such a poor creature as I am. Such seasons as these are precious—more desirable than all this world can afford.” His mind frequently appeared to be in deep meditation on divine things.

7th mo. 19th. His weakness increasing without much pain, (being a consumption) a friend coming to see him, asked how he was; he answered, “Gradually wearing away. I am pleased with the company of solid Friends; but some have come in and sat down, and begun to converse on temporal concerns, which is a burden to my mind: for what have I to do with these things? I have done with them all.”

24th. He grew weaker, but was still favoured with a calm, resigned mind, and said,—“I expect shortly to change this mode of being for another.” Some nourishment being handed him, he said, “I have enough—the Lord’s presence is here.”

25th. He still grew weaker, and at a time when he appeared to be almost spent, a little reviving, said, “Be still, and we shall be fortified.” Some time after was heard to say, “Let me come to thee,

O Lord, as a son to his father.” And to some in the room said, “Give me up—let me go to that quiet habitation which is prepared for the sanctified; and in the power of the Lord, sing praises and hallelujahs to his great name.” More weighty expressions he uttered; but we conclude with the words of the Psalmist, “Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.”

He quietly departed this life the 28th of the 8th month, 1794, without sigh or groan, aged near thirty-three years, and was interred in Friends’ burying ground at Byberry, the 31st of the same, upon which occasion a solemn meeting was held.

*Hannah Thornton’s account of the last Sickness
and Death of James Thornton, Jr.*

The 6th of 6th month, 1794, he was taken with a spitting of blood, which gave renewed occasion to think that his time would not be long here; and conversing on the subject, he said he believed there was mercy for him, and that he saw the necessity, and felt very desirous of experiencing an entire resignation to the Divine will; for he confided in its sufficiency, whether in life or death.

A short time after, it was believed he mercifully experienced and enjoyed a sanctified and resigned mind; for, frequently when sitting pretty much retired (a state that he was much inclined to and preferred, in health as well as sickness) and feeling the sweet incomes of Divine goodness to animate his mind, the tears would trickle down his cheeks.— Oftener than the morning, and in the night season,

when his head was reclined on his pillow, he was heard to express after this manner, "Oh! the goodness of a merciful Father to such a poor creature as I am." "Such seasons are very precious, and ought to be laboured for, more than any of this world's enjoyments, in time of health." And when alone and retired, he has been heard to commemorate the goodness and sufficiency of the Shepherd of Israel.

7th mo. 19th. His weakness increased without much pain, even from the first attack—in the evening, he said he had no desire to lengthen out his time.

8th mo. 6th. Some friends coming to see him, inquired how Death appeared to him, and whether it had any terrors: he replied, it had not, but it was awful.

Frequently when taking medicine, he would say that it was not from any expectation or desire of recovery, but for present relief; whereby he might be in a capacity to have the more free exercise of his mind. It is believed that he often had communion with the Father of mercies, and at times, a free access in the house of prayer, by vocal as well as mental supplication.

23rd of 8th month. A smile being on his countenance, he was asked whether he felt something peaceful, and enjoyed a quiet, calm mind—he said he did. It was remarked to him, that it was a great blessing to be thus favoured, in such a reduced state of bodily weakness—he replied, he thought so.

24th. He grew weaker, and his utterance so feeble that but little could be understood; it was, however, discovered that he was engaged in commemorating the goodness and sufficiency of the great Shepherd;

and was desirous of getting deep enough into a state of perfect resignation to the Divine will, with his whole dependance thereon. He said he expected shortly to exchange this mode of being for another. The same day, on some nourishment being administered to him, he said, "there's enough—there's enough—the Lord is here, and he's enough. My dear friends thought so, and they are gone to a peaceful place, and I expect to go to them." A friend remarked, it was a very pleasant prospect—he replied, "exceedingly so."

26th of 8th month. About eleven o'clock at night, one of his connexions sitting by the bed side, he leaned towards her, raised up his arms, and said, "Let me go. Let me go to that quiet habitation, which is prepared for the sanctified. Give me up—give me up, and bid me farewell. In the power of the Lord, let me sing praises. Let me sing praises in the name of the Lord. Let me in a lowly state sing hallelujah."

Although his complaint was trying, he appeared to be in a sweet, heavenly frame of mind, until the 28th of 8th month, 1794, when he expired between two and three o'clock in the morning, without sigh or groan, in the thirty-third year of his age. H. T.



When once the mind true stillness can attain,
The storms may blow, the floods may beat, in vain:
But he who in calm sunshine don't prepare,
Will, in the storm, be likely ill to fare.
How needful 'tis, when ease or pleasure smiles,
To guard against the power of satan's wiles.

J. B.

HALLETT ENGLAND TOWNSEND;

Son of Joseph and Esther Townsend, was born in the city of Baltimore, on the 16th of the 1st month, 1818.

From his childhood he manifested an amiable disposition, and was affectionate and dutiful to his parents, brothers and sisters. He was of an active, lively turn, possessed of a retentive memory, and gave evidence of the possession of a strong mind. His fondness for reading historical and religious authors, and his pertinent observations and remarks thereon, often attracted the attention and called forth the admiration of his elder acquaintances. It may with great propriety be said of him, "That few children, in a life of his duration, have suffered more; having been afflicted from his childhood with one of the severest and most agonizing maladies, to which the human frame is subject, and having twice submitted to surgical operation for its removal, without the desired final success. The fortitude and patience manifested by him under his affliction, which continued until the close of his existence, might well be an example for many of maturer years."

He died on the 19th of the 12th month, 1830.— For some time previous to his demise, he was sensible that his dissolution was near at hand; and he met the event with the resignation and composure that characterize the pious Christian.

*To the Memory of my much esteemed friend,
Daniel Stanton, who exchanged this life for a
better, the 28th of 6th month, 1770.*

I need invoke no fabled muse, to mourn,
Or pour feign'd sorrow o'er our prophet's urn;
For oh! too deep, my soul partakes the woe
Our Sion feels on such a piercing blow;
Since in his death no common stroke is found,
A public loss! a painful, bleeding wound!
For know, this day, remov'd from earth's abode,
A prince, a priest, and prophet,—to his God.
A faithful lab'rer in his Master's cause,
A firm asserter of Messiah's laws;
A steady watchman—careful to alarm
And rouse the camp to action, and to arm—
To arm the soul against its mortal foe,
Who well maintained the holy war below;
Laid not his heavenly armour in the dust,
To soil its beauty, and contract a rust;
But kept its lustre undefil'd and clean,
A spotless image of his soul within:
For few, perhaps, the lot of life endure,
With hearts less guilty, or with hands more pure.
Anxious, each call of duty to attend;
A powerful teacher, and a Christian friend—
While with a cherub's love, and seraph's zeal,
He sought to know and do his Master's will.
With heaven's acceptance bless'd, his favour'd mind
Grew daily more enlighten'd and refin'd.
Wean'd from the earth—sublim'd by ardent love,
He panted for the converse known above.
Oft wing'd his flight amidst his kindred blest,
And held communion with the saints releas'd.

For oh! in him, conspicuously conjoin'd,
The humble Christian—watchful and resign'd.
For us, his painful labours were bestow'd—
For us, his prayers ascended to his God:
For us, he watch'd—he wept—he led the way—
And oh! to us, the apostle of our day.

Where shall we meet with such a kindred mind?
Where now, our interceding Moses find?
To judge aright for heaven—the flock to guide,
And turn by prayer the thunderbolts aside?
How would his soul in supplication rise
On angel's pinions, to his native skies;
Implore the mercy, deprecate the rod,
And breathe his soul in raptures to his God!
Till, glowing with such zeal and love divine,
As heaven approves, and saints perfected join,
His mounting spirit pierc'd the world unknown,
And gain'd sweet access to his Father's throne.

'Twas thus, advancing on the gospel plan,
He glow'd with love to God, and love to man;
Still pressing forward, with a heart resign'd,
To heaven devoted, and from earth refin'd.
The Master call'd—bid all his labours cease,
And clos'd his evening in the calm of peace;
The softest touches of death's awful rod,
Drew back the veil, and wing'd the saint to God.
There, 'midst the grand assembly held above,
He shares the fulness of Messiah's love.

Not for thy sake—but oh! for ours I mourn,
Friend of my heart, around thy spotless urn.
Nor shall thy memory from my bosom stray,
Till death admits me to that happier day.
There, may my soul, releas'd, unite with thine,
And in the raptur'd chorus, joyful join.

HANNAH GRIFFITTS.

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 2.]

FIRST MONTH, 1832.

[VOL. II.

JACOB LINDLEY'S ACCOUNT

Of a Journey to attend the Indian Treaty, proposed to be held at Sandusky, in the year 1793; interspersed with various observations, remarks, and circumstances, that occurred on this interesting occasion.

INTRODUCTION.

As preliminary information to the reader, it may be proper to state, that about the year 1791, a misunderstanding existed between the United States and several of the Indian Tribes. On this occasion, the Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia addressed a memorial to Congress, the object of which was, to show the expediency of pursuing pacific measures towards settling the disputes with the Indians. Their representation was well received;—but the measures they recommended were not then adopted; and the calamities of war still continuing to prevail on the Western frontiers of the States, the Yearly Meeting held in 1792, appointed a large Committee to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings in deliberating on this momentous subject, and if practicable, to recommend such measures as would be most likely to promote peace and friendship with the Indians.

Early in the year 1793, deputies from several Indian Nations visited Philadelphia, with a view of

forwarding an accommodation of differences with the United States: and, Government having agreed that a treaty should be held in the Indian country, near Detroit, during the summer following,—those Indian deputies repeatedly urged that some Friends should attend the negotiations; stating, that “the Nations they represented had a special confidence in Friends, as a people who, from their first settlement in America, had manifested a steady adherence to the maintenance of peace and friendship with the Natives.” In accordance with the desire which Friends had long felt to promote peace, the proposal was acceded to; and six Friends were deputed to accompany the Commissioners appointed by government, on this occasion, after having obtained the President’s approbation.

The Commissioners appointed on this embassy were, general Benjamin Lincoln, colonel Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, esq. The Friends who accompanied them were, John Parrish, William Savery, and John Elliott, of Philadelphia, Jacob Lindley, of Chester county, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, of New Jersey.

See Halliday Jackson’s valuable work, lately published, entitled, “Civilization of the Indian Natives,” page 7, 8—Oliver Paxson’s Letter to John Simpson, page 31, vol. 1—also, the interesting “Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren, among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians,” by John Heckewelder, printed 1820—page 401–3.

JOURNAL, &c.

I left my dear wife and family on first-day morning, the 28th of the 4th month, 1793. It was a close

trial to both, and the more so, as our youngest child was much indisposed. But the resignation and fortitude with which my beloved companion was supported, helped me to bear the separation beyond my expectation.

My beloved friend Joshua Pusey, accompanied me from home. The morning was wet and windy. When we came to Brandywine, it was high. We ferried over, and got to Concord meeting; which opportunity tended to stay and quiet my mind.— After meeting we went on to Darby, and lodged at our kind friend John Hunt's, where, by him and his beloved Rachel, we were tenderly cared for.

29th. We went to Philadelphia, where I met with John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott and Joseph Moore, who were to be my fellow travellers in the journey. They informed me that Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph proposed to set out on horseback next day. On which information, it was mutually agreed, that John Parrish, Joseph Moore and John Elliott, should proceed with them to Niagara Falls: and William Savery and myself proceed by way of New York to accompany Benjamin Lincoln, who had gone to New York some days before.

30th. I felt my mind not quite easy to proceed without having an interview with the President of the United States, which I suggested to William Savery, and found he was under a like impression.— Accordingly, James Pemberton, William Savery, John Elliott and myself, went about nine o'clock; met with a favourable reception, and had a full opportunity to relieve our minds: which we thought tended to his satisfaction, as well as ours. About

one o'clock, our three friends and two Commissioners set out on horseback.

1st of 5th mo. William Savery and myself, with five other passengers, set out in the stage for New York. Got to Brunswick about dark, having rode sixty miles. Next day in the afternoon, we arrived at New York.

3rd. Waiting for the baggage to come on by water from Amboy, and providing for our journey. I think I never saw Friends so active and heartily disposed to comfort and assist, as were a number of our brethren and sisters of that city.

4th. Went on board the Schenectady sloop, capt. Lansing. Our beloved friend, William Hartshorne, one of our companions in this journey, met us here, and went on board also, at the Albany pier in the East river. The wind at south-west, we got round the point, and about five miles up the North river, when the wind shifted, and a violent gale ensued from the north-east. The tide also leaving us, we were obliged to cast anchor, and lay tossing all night, just in sight of the city. The wind increased so much that our vessel dragged her anchor, and ran almost ashore. About day-light our captain ran in to the wharf again. We took the opportunity of going to forenoon and afternoon meetings. At the last of which, William Savery desired to see Friends and others, at seven o'clock in the evening. About which time, the streets being crowded with people going to meeting, the captain sent a messenger to call us on board. The strait indeed was great; but William and I agreed, let the consequences be what they might, we would attend the meeting; we did so, and a favoured time it was. About nine o'clock,

several Friends, merchants of the city, accompanied us to the vessel, where the passengers and captain were in a heat; but we kept down, and it blew over. Capt. Lansing told me afterwards with seriousness, he did believe the storm was permitted in order to give us time for the meeting.

About midnight they weighed anchor, and stood up the North river. Our progress was slow and tedious, which gave us opportunity to view the rugged margin of that great water, which exhibited subjects for awful contemplation. The rocks and mountains rise from the water several hundred feet high; on the tops of divers of which, are the remains of fortifications made in the time of the late war; at some of which places, bloody contests had been held. We passed West Point, Fort Putnam, and divers others on the tops of the highest hills, commanding the prospects of different reaches of the North river.

7th. We passed a stream tumbling over the rocks into the river, called the Buttermilk Falls—a good seat for a mill. But the barren appearance of the banks, with the prospect of the divers dark habitations of death and destruction, brought me into a humbling sense of the excellency of that holy religion, which breathes peace on earth and good will to men. These strong holds, situated on the tops and peaks of mountains, perhaps three or four hundred feet high, were associated with ideas which more strongly confirmed my mind in the approach of that day, in which the King of kings will exalt his holy mountain above them all.

Passed by New Windsor, New Marlborough, and Barnagat. At the latter are many limekilns, which

burn lime for New York. The kilns are in the bank, close to the river. Poughkeepsie is a village on the east side of the river. The land appears barren and shrubby, especially where the limestone mostly abounds.

8th. About six in the morning, arrived at Albany, having sailed one hundred miles in twelve hours. Last night we passed the city of Hudson, where a number of Friends reside. At Albany we met with great civility. The minister of the congregation introduced himself to us, and said he wished our errand crowned with success; and that he would make it his care, publicly to offer up his prayers for us, which would be joined by ten or eleven hundred others, and he hoped would be available. He appeared a good natured, tender spirited man. His name was Bassett.

In the afternoon, five Indians passed through this town. I stopped them at the city tavern, gave them some refreshment, and money to bear their expenses. Their company consisted of an old woman, a son, two daughters, and a grandson. One of the young women was named Mehetable, the other Keturah. Our secretary, Story, sent a written message to captain Hendricks, at the Onedia Lake, by one of the young men, one hundred and twenty miles distant: which he engaged to deliver in three days. They all appeared simple, and their countenances innocent. Their name and visage impressed my mind with a remembrance of good old Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The city of Albany is chiefly settled with the descendants of emigrants from Holland. They are generally a recluse, busy people: which bears the appearance of inhospitality, or want of sociability

and attention to strangers. When we arrived at the city tavern, we found general Lincoln nearly alone. He was very anxious to move forward that afternoon, for which purpose a horse and chair was sought and procured: the horse was a poor old gray, such as I have seen turned out to die. This treatment of the general roused my feelings for the honour of our government, and the regard due to its respectable officers: of which number I considered him as one—especially on the present intended peaceful embassy. I then went out, and represented the reflections it must draw upon the reputation of the place, to capt. Lansing and some others, who had exulted much in the antiquity and reputation of their city. They pretty soon procured a better horse and sulkey, and the old friend proceeded that evening to Schenectady. We stayed all night at Albany, and observed their manner of burial; where no women attended: neither do they on any such occasions, attend the corpse of the nearest relative to the grave. The females assemble at the house, and immediately after the coffin is borne out, they proceed to eat cakes, drink wine, and smoke tobacco for a short time; and then all clear out before the men return. The men resume the feast, made in consequence of the decease of their neighbour or friend, regale themselves, and return home.

9th. We got into a wagon, and rode sixteen miles to Schenectady, situated near the Mohawk river.—We passed about ten houses on the road, each a tavern. The land very poor and covered with pines the whole of the way. The town of Schenectady is supposed to consist of about three hundred houses, mostly Dutch built, except some modern houses of

more elegant construction. It appears strange to see the manners and customs of the people, and the face of the country: yet my mind is mercifully preserved in great quietude, and every place looks and feels like a temporary home. Dined at a public house in Schenectady, where we had the pleasure of general Schuyler's company. After dinner, we went on board a batteau, accompanied by seven others, loaded with our baggage and stores, and embarked on the Mohawk river, in the presence of more than one hundred spectators. Two of our boats were manned with six men each, the other six boats with three men each. We proceeded about four miles, and stopped at a house where the mother and three children were entirely insane. The three children never learned to speak, being idiots—the mother went distracted, and was confined in chains. The several circumstances attending this distressed family, deeply affected my mind, and caused me secretly to acknowledge, that I was not thankful enough for the manifold favours and blessings mercifully dispensed to me.

The bed of the Mohawk river I suppose to be about two hundred yards across, and averaging three feet deep; some places shoal and rapid, where the poor boatmen had very hard work to make headway against the current. The river winds across a valley about half a mile wide; alternately washing the southern and northern hills. The bottoms in the bends, and on the banks of the river, are rich black sand, exceeding fertile, and tolerably improved, producing wheat, Indian corn, peas, flax, &c. in abundance. We had an agreeable prospect of a range of fine plantations, interspersed with an abundance of

fruit trees in blossom. Vegetation appeared about as forward here as when I left home. It is an old settled country: the inhabitants mostly the descendants of Low Dutch emigrants, and generally speak that language, also, tolerable English. They say it was settled before Schenectady or Albany; which must be more than one hundred and twenty years. One young woman told me her father's great-grandfather was born on the place where she then lived. The banks of the river, in general, rise about twelve or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and obscure, in a great measure, the pleasing prospect of its fruitful margin from travellers who go in boats.

10th. Our little fleet, consisting of eight boats, worked by thirty men, exclusive of twelve passengers, set out, and with great exertions, opposed the rapids of the Mohawk for about sixteen miles, thro' a champaign country. Passed by many banks and points of land, memorable for having forts and fortifications in time of war; particularly the old residence of sir William Johnson, whose mansion house is now in ruins—the lands confiscated, and in possession of strangers. This estate was said to have been obtained from the Indians by chicanery. Such is the uncertainty of the most extensive worldly possessions, more especially when obtained through unrighteous channels. This day we passed a rock projecting out of the bank of the river, whereon was painted, with great ingenuity, in red colours, a canoe with the representation of seven men in it: which is said to be done annually, by Indians, coming several hundred miles for that purpose, in order to commemorate the slaughter of seven Indians, who went off from that neighbourhood in

some former wars, and were all destroyed. We passed the mouth of the Schoharie, and stopped about a mile higher up the river, on a beautiful bank, where we proposed to lodge. Here I saw a plough with two wheels, about eighteen inches diameter, just before the coulter. They are in general use in this neighbourhood, and appear to answer the end well. Their land is level, light and rich near the river. Their field peas are just coming up, and appear luxuriant and beautiful.

11th. Had a fine wind, our little fleet hoisted their sails, which propelled the boats against the current at about four miles an hour without the help of setting poles or oars. Passed the Canajoharie, and a mountain called the Nose, where is a remarkable cave, into which one of our boatmen said he entered about five perches, but found so much wind issuing out of it, that he was afraid to proceed any further. The land in this day's route is very good. The settlers here were greatly distressed about the year 1780, by the Indians and white people who were opposed to the principles of the revolution, and were influenced, and, in some instances, commanded, by John Johnson (son of sir William) who took refuge with the British, and came on with a party of Indians, &c. into his old neighbourhood, burnt their houses, took off many prisoners, and others they killed. Where we breakfasted, the man of the house told us his father and father-in-law were both killed by them on the same morning. Where we dined, the woman's husband had been killed in like manner. This day we passed several old fortifications, block houses, &c. which appeared a weak defence: and breathing aspirations were raised, to become an

inhabitant of a city whose walls are salvation, and whose light and glory the Lord of hosts is. We also passed several places for worship. The whole journey of this day was about twenty-three miles. The country very fertile, and capable of abundant improvement which may increase the useful trade of Schenectady and Albany, keep up the sound of the millstones near the North river,—largely occupy the merchants of New York,—and freight their ships with heavy burdens for distant climes. Vegetation appears nearly the same from day to day, as we proceed to the north-west, which is the general course of the river thus far.

12th. Which was the first of the week, we set out from esq. Nellis's, which is about fifteen miles north of Otsego lake, the head source of the north branch of Susquehanna, and about fifty miles north of the boat and raft navigation of the Delaware. Proceeding up the river we found the water very shoal; in many places not more than fifteen inches deep. The navigation is exceedingly hurt by the river being divided into many parts by islands, some less, and some larger, from one to seventy acres in size. We landed and tarried awhile at Fort Hendricks on the south side of the river. Opposite, on the north side, comes in a large stream, called Canada creek, about the size of Brandywine. This place was the seat of an old Indian king. We noticed many large old apple trees, said to have been planted by the Indians.

This day the wind blew very brisk, and directly against us; which made our progress slow, and the labour of the men exceeding hard. With considerable difficulty, we stemmed the current ten miles,

to the falls of the river, which are thirty-eight and a half feet in three quarters of a mile. It is a very romantic spot. In one place, the water pitches down about seven feet. Here is a fine grist-mill, saw-mill, and fulling-mill. A Scotch gentleman, named John Porteous, is the proprietor of the seat. It will, some time, in all probability, become a great interest.— Here are great preparations making to open a canal, which I think they will complete, as nature has done abundance toward facilitating this very important object. The river is contracted by rocks and hills to one hundred feet wide at the falls, and for some distance below. At this place, a spacious wooden bridge is erected across the river. On the north side, are evident marks of nature having, at some very remote period of time, undergone a great revolution. I think it appears to a demonstration, that the river once ran among the rocks that are now thirty perches from the present bed of the water, and twenty feet above its level. Rocks and stones are lying in a very irregular position, but so smoothed, and worn into curves of many shapes, like ovens, large kettles, and some worn down like a hollow gum, six or seven feet deep, and bear every appearance of the rocks in the bed and on the sides of the river at present. This afternoon, we engaged seven wagons to transport our stores and boats, one mile across these falls. We were kindly received by our friend Porteous, and the superintendent of the canal, a very intelligent man, major Frederick Augustus De Zang; where I drank tea, and lodged. He emigrated from Saxony, and married Caleb Lawrence's daughter, of New York. Though this place is so rocky and wild, it is said a rattlesnake has not

been found at any time; north of Canada creek. On the east side of that water, about seven miles distant, they abound to such a degree, that the settlers there are obliged, in their own defence, to keep large herds of swine, of three or four years old—and such is the sagacity of the swine, that they will set their foot on the head of the reptile, and begin at the tail to eat.

Below these falls, for three miles, the water is an amazing depth—perhaps eighty feet deep. Here our setting poles were of no account, and our oars and paddles were not sufficient to propel the boat against the wind; so that at one time I did not know but we should here have made our beds. But through the abounding mercy of Him “who holdeth the winds in his fists, and measureth the waters in the hollow of his hand,” we got through to comfortable lodgings. The three preceding nights we lay on our mattresses, except the general, who was accommodated with a bed.

13th. The wagons assembled about sunrise, took our baggage and boats about one mile, to the still water above the falls. We dined at our friend Porteous’s—embarked in the afternoon—passed the Wolf Riffle and one other piece of strong water—about six miles, to the German Flats—on the way, passed several block houses, and one meeting house. Here we were but six miles north of the head waters of the Susquehanna. But it felt to me a land of darkness and a land of blood. Many of the people had had their relations killed and scalped, whose spirits remain rough, and much exasperated against the Indians.

14th. Proceeded forward, and that evening reached Fort Schuyler, where is erected a wooden bridge, whose arch is one hundred and twenty feet wide, without any support from below. The buttments are of framed timber, without stone in any part of them. The sweep of the arch appeared to be about seven feet. The land in this day's progress, was very rich; and the whole face of the country, as far as I could see, was flat, and abounding with very large sugar trees, elm, white walnut, beech, &c.—The water, in this day's journey, which was about twenty-three miles, was a fine, deep, still run, great part of the way, without using our oars. This country settles rapidly. I was much perplexed for miles with the continued smoke from the fires on shore, where they are clearing the lands, and manufacturing pot and pearl ash, and maple sugar. The potash is a great article of trade, selling at from forty-five to fifty pounds per ton. At New York, one merchant, I was told, procured one thousand tons the last year.

15th. The morning clear, and the air cold. Here the earth is very dry, having had but little rain for two months. Several of our company took horse at Whitestown, and rode to Fort Stanwix, at the head of the boat navigation on the Mohawk river. The fort stands on the highest ground between the waters which run to the sea southward, and those which run into the Oneida lake, and empty into the St. Lawrence river. Our journey this day by water, was twenty-four miles. Those who rode by land, about sixteen miles. They passed the ground where a battle had been fought with the Indians in the last war; in which many fell on both sides; but the In-

dians kept the ground. The skulls of divers remain on the ground, having the marks of the tomahawk and scalping knife evidently upon them. One of our party brought a skull along with him. The land, as we came up the river, appears rich. The river about one hundred feet wide, and exceedingly crooked, much resembling a worm fence—the reaches about fifty perches long. The country very little settled. We dined in the woods, on the bank of the stream. The timber very large,—sugar trees are here in abundance—also buttonwood and white walnut of large size. Here, and for thirty miles below, hills and mountains quite disappear. The land on the dividing ridge, stony and thin, much covered with pitch pine. But when the earth shall disclose her blood, and no more cover her slain, a tremendous account must be settled for the blood shed on the banks of the Mohawk. One skeleton, and a gun by his side, is said to have been harrowed up a few days past—the remains of a beaver hat, decayed stockings, &c.

16th. It took up this day to get the boats and baggage across the carrying place, one mile, to Wood creek, a small stream about ten yards wide, and very shoal. Five of our company, on the morning of the 17th, took wagon, and proceeded down Wood creek by land. But such a ride I never had before. Pole bridges, slatches of mud and water, and short nob hills, sometimes one side, then another, like to over-set; and the wagon very shackling, made the tour very disagreeable. However, in about three hours we arrived at captain Ranney's, at the junction of Canada creek. The whole of the eight miles a dreary hemlock and beech wilderness, without in-

habitant that I saw, except musquitoes in thousands. It appears well adapted for their existence. At the mouth of Canada creek we re-embarked, and proceeded down Wood creek eight miles to the Oak Orchard, where general Amhurst's army encamped on his way to the Canada expedition, in the French war. Here our little camp pitched their tents. I rested well on the bank of Wood creek.

Struck our tents early in the morning of the 18th, and proceeded down the stream about six miles; then kindled up a fire on the bank, and cooked a breakfast of tea and chocolate. The land continues low, level, and rich, abounding with sugar trees and white walnut. The navigation of the creek is abundantly obstructed by vast quantities of timber.— Here the stream is about fifty feet wide. These waters abound with fish, of which we caught some with a gig from the bow of our boat, and some trout with hook and line. About noon we dined at the Big Bend, four miles from the lake, on the bank of the creek, not having seen a cabin for twenty-five miles. The banks abound with lofty timber, sugar trees, elm, some large oaks, and shellbark hickory, in which the pigeons, innumerable, build their nests. Here and there a small fox squirrel appears,—a few robins, blackbirds, and jays. About three o'clock we came to the entrance of Oneida lake, which, though among the number of inferior lakes, makes an awful appearance, and is doubtless a wonderful display of that infinite Wisdom and Power by which the worlds were made. Our course along this little ocean appeared to be a little north of west; and the wind being brisk from that point, we raised our tents, as no habitation appeared.

This evening, a number of Indians came to our camp, viz. col. Lewis, capt. John, and a very old chief, named Beech-tree, or King Doe, and several young warriors, painted red, with black streaks.—Some had their ears cut in strings, with trinkets in them; and they mostly had bobs of wampum, metal, or bright shells, hung in their noses. They had two of their wives with them—each had a child laced with its back to a board—the front side made of skins, lined with soft flannel, and a canopy of curious work, like embroidery, overhead—of like workmanship were the laces and bandages with which the infant was fastened in—these they loose with great facility, and take out the babe. The whole has the appearance of a case, narrow at bottom, and widens upwards—it is about two feet in length, and has a bow to the front side of it, to go over the mother's breast, when she carries the child. There were about eleven Indians in this company. Kirkland, their missionary, was with them, and interpreted for us. The old chief said he heard we were there, and with trembling knees, leaning on his staff, he had come to see us. As we were on the work of peace, he rejoiced to see us on that errand, and hoped the Great Spirit would bless our endeavours, with which he united, and did not know what he lived for, except it was to see it. Captain John spoke to like import, and said he was glad some of the sons of Onas were along. We imparted some small tokens of respect to the women and children, who after a visit of about two hours, went away, with some of the young men. The old ones stayed and supped with us on the bank of the lake, and then departed.

About eight in the evening the wind lulled, we struck our tents, and hurried on board. The lake was smooth, and the moon shining. We went with our oars, beautifully, about twelve miles. Suddenly there appeared a cloud rising in the south-west, which soon spread, and obscured the light of the moon. It began to rain, with a heavy gale of wind, and the scene was soon changed from serenity and calmness into a foaming tempest. Our little fleet got scattered—the swells became so great as to render oars useless. The water being shoal, and the shore rocky, we durst not attempt to run in. Our boatmen proposed to raise the mast, and hoist sail; which, with great difficulty, from the beating of the waves and the extreme darkness, was effected.—After which, our little bark ran violently before the wind, rocking over the swells like a tub on the water. But through the providence of Almighty power, about break of day we got into the mouth of the Oneida river, though several of our boats did not arrive for some hours after. This lake is about thirty miles long and eight wide. In crossing which, I underwent a close and searching baptism, not only respecting the present embassy, but all the actions of my life: for eternity appeared very near.

19th. Being first-day, we resumed our navigation down the Oneida river about eighteen miles, to the junction of the Seneca or Onondago river. It is about as large as the Oneida; each perhaps three hundred feet wide. At this place we met three families of new settlers, who were glad to see us, as were we to see them. Here also we met several Indians, mostly young men and women, marvellously trimmed with cut ears, ear-rings and nose jewels.

Amongst them, was a young warrior grimly painted; even his hair was painted and plaited, and stood out on each side in opposite directions.

Here we had conversation with a man who lives at the Salt Springs on the Cayuga Lake, which is about ten miles long and seven broad. He related that when wood was provided, and two kettles set, of sixty gallons each, he could make five bushels per day; that the fountain appeared inexhaustible; that excellent fresh water springs were found within twelve yards of the salt; and that eighteen miles land carriage would take it to the Chemung river, a branch of the west fork of the Susquehanna.

We resumed our voyage—passed about a mile of rapid water—and afterwards eleven miles of still water, to Oswego Falls. Here the river is about two hundred yards wide, and the water at one pitch all across the river, falls eight feet, and forms a strong, foaming rapid for one mile below. The banks of this river are low, and subject to be overflowed. The land apparently rich.

20th. Drew our boats across the carrying place about sixty yards, launched in below, and proceeded to Oswego garrison, held by the British. They expecting us, we were admitted, and dined with the commanding officer, capt. Wickham. After dinner, we pursued our journey on the sea of Ontario, fifteen miles to a harbour called Little Sodus. Grand indeed is the prospect of this great lake. About the middle there is no view of land northward, eastward, or westward, in the clearest day.

21st. We sailed and rowed, passed the mouth of Great Sodus, to Apple Boom harbour, twenty-seven miles from Little Sodus. This day was exceeding

warm on the lake, and the journey very lonesome. Day after day not a face to be seen but our own company. The water of the lake is clear and cold; much more so than the rivers which empty into it. Our navigation is along the southern margin of Ontario. The land appears well timbered and habitable; but I could perceive no springs or small rivulets emptying into the lake. The shore is composed of high banks for miles together; then low vallies in succession, which form bays and harbours for the boatmen in case of sudden storms of wind, which are very frequent, and make a surprising commotion in the waters. In these storms, many adventurers, after enduring amazing difficulties, have perished; and others have marvellously escaped. We did not venture more than one mile from shore. The water is from three to ten feet deep—the bottom appeared as if paved with close jointed flag stones, of seven, ten, or twenty feet square—or like a street paved with round smooth stones.

22nd. The wind was high and the water rough. We lay in the harbour till four in the afternoon, when we journeyed forward, rowing about eight miles, and after sundown, made the shore; where also a boat from Niagara came with several passengers on board—a clergyman, Townsend Speakman's brother's six orphan children, and a Delaware Indian man, who could speak some English; he seemed pleased with the prospect of peace; and said he was at no time for war.

23rd. Set out a little after daylight. The wind being against us, about eight o'clock we put in to shore a little eastward of the mouth of Genessee river; struck up fires and breakfasted; then passed

on, and arrived at the White Oak Orchard harbour about dark. Here we encamped amongst a number of Indian graves. Here also came a boat, with two families, removing from Genessee to Upper Canada, on account of the sickly situation of the Genessee country. In this day's journey, the margin of the lake appeared very low, the timber small and shrubby, with abundance of bays and swampy ground. Bradoe's bay is the most beautiful of any I saw on the sides of the lake.

24th. The air sharp and cool, we stood up the lake with a fair, gentle breeze, which gradually increased, and carried us with velocity past Golden Hill, Cag Inlet, &c. over many a foaming wave, which at length ran so high, that the boats began to ship water, and we put into Eighteen Mile Creek harbour. Here I walked out, and met with what appeared to me to be a piece of antiquity. A mound fifty yards in circumference, raised to more than six feet high. On the elevation about two feet above the base, is a white oak tree, of two feet diameter, which I suppose has originated since the formation of this artificial mount. But the design remains matter of conjecture. Perhaps some kind of fortification, or to commemorate some great achievement, or more probable the sepulchre of ancient kings.

25th. We struck our tents, and journeyed on eighteen miles to the garrison of Niagara, a strong fortification, but a dark, noisy, confused, dirty place. We ferried over the river to Navy Hall, in the dominions of the king of Great Britain.

26th, and first of the week, we visited governor Simcoe, who received us in a friendly manner. It was now confirmed to us, that the Indians would

not assemble before the 1st of 7th month. It proved a close trial to be so long separated from the dearest connexions in life, and driven into the sickly season of the year, so that I found a necessity for the exercise of faith and patience. My mind was turned to the Lord for counsel, in this proving season. Several things revolved in my mind—whether to return home, or to try to seek out some of the scattered sheep in Canada.

27th. Governor Simcoe came to see us at our lodgings. He conversed with freedom and candour on the subject of the treaty,—holding the posts of Niagara, Oswego, Detroit, &c.—as also respecting certain laws which he wished to take place in the province, where Friends might be exempted from military requisitions. To which we replied according to the understanding given. He is a plain man, and much beloved in the government.

After breakfast, we moved out of our lodge in Newark, embarked on board the boats, and with a fair wind stood up the river eight miles to a landing below the great falls, where is a carrying place of eleven miles to Chipaway creek, three miles above the falls. The river or outlet of lake Erie, is about half a mile wide to this place; where it is contracted to half that width. The bank from Niagara up here, is about forty feet high, and very steep to this place, where the elevation is greatly increased. On our way, we were hailed from the bank by our beloved friends, John Parrish, Joseph Moore and John Elliott, whom we were glad to see. They returned to the landing, and we all dined together at captain Smith's quarters, in the mess house, with five or six of the officers of the regiment of Queen's rangers.

There being no house where we could lodge, we pitched our tents in a lot of one Phelps.

28th. Joseph Moore and myself went four miles to see Jeremiah Moore's family. They related the dreadful circumstances they were reduced to in this country, by scarcity of bread and provisions of all kinds, in the year 1789—when they came to an allowance of one spoonful of meal per day, for one person—eat strawberry leaves, beech leaves, flax-seed dried, and ground in a coffee mill—caught the blood of a little pig—bled the almost famished cow and oxen—walked twelve miles for one shive of bread, paid twelve shillings for twelve pounds of meal. One of the lads who was hired out, carried his little sister two miles on his back, to let her eat his breakfast, and they gave him none till dinner. The children leaped for joy at one robin being caught, out of which a whole pot of broth was made. They eat mustard, potatoe tops, sassafras root, and made tea of the tops. The relation was deeply affecting. The case being general, one could not help another: which brought to my mind the many thankless meals enjoyed in the land of plenty.

This place is situated within four miles of the grand falls; the noise of which resembles the roaring of the waves of the ocean in the time of a storm. One Indian and a white man have been carried down this amazing cataract, within two years. The white man tumbled out of his canoe just at the beginning of the rapids, and was hurled down. The poor Indian was asleep in his canoe, which was tied to the bank; it is supposed some wicked person loosed it, and it glided down into the rapids, when some person hollowed to him; on which he stood up, struck

a few strokes with his paddle to no effect, then wrapped his head in his blanket, and laid down in his canoe, to meet his horrid destiny. He was found two miles below; but none of his bones were broken.

Here I saw the skin of a porcupine, an animal about as large as a well grown ground hog, with a bushy tail, and claws like that animal. His body was interspersed with a vast number of stiff, pointed quills; which are its defence when attacked. Here is a beautiful odoriferous little tree, called the balm of Gilead. It resembles the lombardy poplar. Here also the juniper abounds. They are natives of this latitude. Gooseberries and currants of divers colours and kinds, are found here.

My route in all, thus far, seven hundred and twenty-one miles.

29th. A wet day—which is a blessing to the earth and its inhabitants hereaway, as it has been exceeding dry.

30th. Joseph Moore, John Elliott and myself, went about two and a half miles, to visit that phenomenon in nature—the great Falls of Niagara, whose thunders, for several days, had with awfulness reached mine ears. When I approached this tremendous cataract, it truly appeared amazing, and with the voice of thunder, proclaimed the majesty of its sublime Architect. When we came to the margin of the river below the falls, we descended the almost perpendicular bank by several windings from one rock to another, and with the aid of several Indian ladders, at length reached the surface of the water, I suppose, at least one hundred and fifty feet below the summit. The irregular position of multitudes of huge rocks, which no doubt had tum-

bled from their ancient seats, made our progress up toward the pitch, rough and difficult. We found logs, pieces of canoes, &c. in abundance, twelve or fifteen feet above the present level of the water—also ducks, loons, cormorants, catfish, pickerels, and various kinds of fish and water fowl, which had been killed by the dashing of the columns of water, tumbling off a precipice not less than one hundred and twenty feet perpendicular. The rocks and stones are mostly excellent limestone, as are the stones in the banks for six or seven miles below; where, from every appearance, I think it is not absurd to suppose the falls once were, but have worn up to the present barrier, where the river makes a bend, and the water is divided by an island; though two-thirds of it, or more, pass on the north side of the island. I think it is not improbable, that the lands adjoining derive considerable advantage to vegetation from the misty vapours which arise, and are exhaled to the clouds, or blown by the varying winds on the neighbouring farms. Some of these are exceeding fertile, abounding with grass and grain. After spending an hour or two, almost lost in admiration, we ascended by the way we went down, and rode eight miles to the landing, where we dined at Benjamin Canby's.

31st. This forenoon capt. Hendricks, Little-man, and three other Oneida Indians came to our camp, whom we were pleased to see; we refreshed them, and had friendly conversation, confirming the principles of peace and good will to all men.

Here we were within the sound of the martial trumpet, where I did adopt the Israelitish lamentation, "By Babel's streams we sat and wept, when

we remembered Zion, and hung our harps on the willow trees."

This afternoon, capt. Hendricks and myself took boat, and were rowed eight miles down to Navy Hall to see the commissioners. After some conversation on Indian affairs, we returned the same evening.

1st of 6th month. Used some endeavours to get our tents and baggage removed to Chipaway creek; but could not get wagons because of the late rains. This is a place of considerable business, which is principally engrossed by Hamilton, Street, and Phelps—the former having planted five hundred bushels of potatoes this year, to supply the troops. This morning, an Onondago chief came to our camp and breakfasted with us.

2nd of the month, and first of the week. A meeting being appointed about five miles distant, I set out on foot to attend it. On the way, in the woods, I looked back, and at a few perches distance were two Indians coming after me, on a trot—one of them frightfully painted from below one eye to the middle of his forehead, with a vermillion red; the other side jet black. His cheek and chin under the black, was painted red, and the other side, under the red, was painted black. He had a tail of hair, and skins of beasts and birds with the feathers on, which hung down below the calves of his legs, and were blown out behind him. He had his scalping knife in his hand. His stature was middle sized; but his visage was exceeding fierce and grim. I was quite alone. I turned sideways, and stood till he came up, I believe with out visible emotion of fear, and accosted him thus: Which way in such a hurry? He said, Hooch king, Buffalo creek! and passed along. I

went on to the meeting, where my companions and divers Friends, and other settlers in this new country, came, to the number of about one hundred. The meeting was solid and satisfactory. We went to J. Moore's to dine, had a solid opportunity in his family, and went to our kind friend W. Lundy's, to lodge.

3rd. Walked to squire Birch's mills, on the rapids, above the unspeakably amazing cataract; where I had a second view of this standing awful monument of the mighty power of Him who created the heavens and the earth, the seas and fountains of water. The rapids above, are about one mile square; and pleasingly grand is the prospect—the waves dashing, and tumbling from rock to rock, and altering their appearance every moment. Here also are seen the misty vapours from the great falls, rising in curling columns to the clouds, resembling the smoke of numerous furnaces. Such are the friction of the particles of water descending, and the inconceivable weight of the mass of water, dashing on the rocks below, that it more resembles smoke than mist.—Our kind friend Birch has, perhaps, one of the grandest situations for water works in the world; and I think, if he opens his front door, he need never pay the clergy for preaching. He is kind to Friends, having in early life contracted an esteem for Samuel Emlen at sea.

Chipaway creek is about as large as Brandywine, and boatable fifty miles to the northward. I walked from Birch's to Chipaway. Here is a block house and picket, garrisoned by a number of soldiers.—Lodged at a public house, where we paid a shilling for a floor to spread our mattresses on, and other things equivalent.

4th. Went on board one of our boats, and rowed eighteen miles to Fort Erie, in sight of the lake.— Here is a store house, garrison, &c. The water from Chipaway to this place is smooth, and a good run for boats. Here lay three schooners, waiting a fair wind, bound for Detroit. We went on board the Dunmore that evening.

Next morning, near sixty Indians came on board, on their way to Sandusky; among whom were capt. Hendricks, capt. John, and a number of principal men and warriors, much painted, ears cut, &c.

5th. Quite becalmed. I felt renewed occasion for the exercise of faith and patience. Expenses of boarding alone, twelve shillings per day.

The waters of Lake Erie are three hundred feet higher than those of Ontario, thirty-seven miles below, and are restrained from deluging the country by the same power which bounds "the sea by a perpetual decree." Opposite this place, on the side of the United States, comes in Buffalo creek, where a council of several Indian nations was held a few days past, preparatory to the general treaty.

In the afternoon, a gentle breeze sprung up, we hoisted sail, and stood out into the lake. Passed Point Ebono, the Sugar Loaf, and Long Point on the north, and Presque Isle on the south.

6th. Ran all last night under a brisk quarter wind. This morning several of our passengers were very sick. I felt a little dizzy; but toward noon it subsided. This lake is, in general, about fourteen fathoms water. As we navigated the middle, from whence we could only just discern the opposite shores, we could make no observations respecting the soil.

7th. Passed the mouth of Cuyahoga river, forty or fifty miles above Presque Isle. The scene rather dull. No variety appearing, neither fish, fowl, nor any thing else, save a few gulls flying this morning over the waters of this formidable ocean, which has a barren prospect.

8th. A gentle breeze from south west made our progress toward Detroit tedious, yet afforded time for conversation and contemplation. There were representatives of five different Indian nations on board; some French, British, German, Scotch, and American United States men; some soldiers, sailors, merchants, mechanics, and farmers. Yet, notwithstanding all the variety of prospects and interests, a perfect harmony and decorum were observed: in the observation of which, my faith and hope were a little revived in the approach of that glorious day, when thousands and tens of thousands, yea, nations and kingdoms, shall repair to Zion's holy and peaceable ensign; notwithstanding the many opposing strong holds of mystery Babylon, yet held up and maintained in the strong reasoning part of the natural, fallen wisdom of man.

9th of 6th month, and first of the week. Last night was a solemn, awful season. The preceding day was very warm. The thermometer at eighty. A little before sunset, the wind lulled into a perfect calm. A dark cloud arose south-westward, and slowly approached us. About midnight it came on, with terrible wind, thunder and lightning,—to a humbling degree to me and the rest, more especially as we had fifty barrels of gunpowder on board, and between eighty and ninety passengers, divers of whom had been fierce warriors, both Indians and

white men. Under every consideration, I felt my own righteousness as filthy rags, and dare not indulge a secret thought that it would be unjust if the schooner should be blown up. I had no where to rest my confidence, save in the unspeakable mercy of Israel's mighty God, by whose power we were preserved. The noise and exertions of the seamen, were great. Their care and activity was as commendable as it was admirable. My spirit visited my habitation, to take a solemn leave of my dear companion and tenderly beloved children. I felt the peace it would be to yield up life at home. I remembered I had been baptized into death, and brought under great awfulness, even unto tears and trembling, before I set out on this journey: and upon the whole, I was favoured with a good degree of quietness and resignation. We now approached near the islands at the west end of Lake Erie. Our captain lowered sail, and stood eastward till morning, then put about and passed the first island about noon. The wind very unstable, frequent squalls succeeded by little breezes and calms. In the afternoon, came in sight of nine smaller and some larger beautiful islands. This day we had a solid, religious opportunity on board.—Capt. John, capt. Hendricks, and other Indians and passengers, present—I believe to good satisfaction. The two Indian chiefs dined with us.

10th. A fair wind—stemmed the heavy current eighteen miles up Detroit river to the garrison. Many plantations are on both sides of the river, mostly occupied by French people. On our arrival, I went with three other Friends to the citadel, to produce our passport from governor Simcoe to the commanding officer, colonel England, a cheerful, open

countenanced, masculine soldier, who received us like a gentleman, and kindly offered civilities to us,—for which we acknowledged obligations to him.

Here are fine banks, well improved. The oldest orchards appear luxuriant—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, &c. But no springs of water, nor streams with falls: being obliged to have recourse to wind-mills to manufacture their grain. Of these mills they have a number in sight. The inhabitants are a mixture of French; German, English, Irish, Scotch, Yankees, Indians, and Negroes.

11th. Held a conference with captain John and several other Indian chiefs and principal men; in which our peaceable mission was more fully explained than heretofore. Notwithstanding our disinterested and universal principles of love and good will to mankind, we are sensible our path is narrow and our situation delicate—the eyes of four different interests being open towards us;—British, United States, Indians, and the reputation of our religious society.

This afternoon, walked three miles down the west side of Detroit river, to a spring, at which I was refreshed, not having drank any other than river water for ten days. On our route to the spring, we called at a French house, to keep out of a gust of rain. The family appeared polite, loving, and pleased to see us. On our return, we called to see an old noted Indian trader, Isaac Williams, who is well acquainted with the Indian affairs, and their dispositions. He related many alarming circumstances of Indian cruelty; and said they were at present more haughty and insolent than heretofore. He rehearsed

an instance of a riot which happened that day week, with a violent party of Indians: in which he interfered to prevent murder, but he got wounded in the arm with a scalping knife. He insinuated doubts of our ever returning from Sandusky, unless the commissioners submitted to the Indian demands, which were very high. These were also the sentiments of divers persons acquainted with Indians, in this place. All which conspired to our deep humiliation and dependance on the omnipotent Arm, having none other to lean to.

We frequently meet Indians here, where they get too much strong drink; in which state they discover a very alarming and disagreeable ferocity. Here are divers persons who have been prisoners amongst them, some of whom recite shocking accounts of their cruelty, in many instances; others speak more favourably of their treatment. However, upon the whole, under all the circumstances of the approaching treaty, it evidently appears a serious business; and little, if any thing, short of offering up life, by those who attend it. We have hitherto found very few of the natives who have any knowledge of Friends or their principles.

This evening we met col. England and a number of the officers on the bank of the river; with whom we had considerable conversation; in which, I hope, we acknowledged and supported the peaceable principles of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They treated us on every occasion like gentlemen, in their way,—polite, and courteous to strangers, at least to us. Col. England told us he had, with much pains and expense, procured more than fifty prisoners from the Indians, clothed them,

and forwarded them homeward; many of whom discovered little sense of gratitude for the kindness; yet he felt a reward, as being the friend of humanity. At night, returned to Matthew Dolson's, where we have taken lodgings.

12th. Had a solid conference with David Kennedy, a half Indian, a man of learning, and a man of influence; having been educated in Scotland, he visited London, Jamaica, &c. He lives with the Indians, and professes christianity; is well versed in the Scriptures, and says he has initiated divers into the christian faith, by a medium widely contrasted with our mode. He told us some Indians used to mock and ridicule his going to church; but at a certain time he undertook to drub them severely, and ordered them and their families to attend church in future, or he would be under the necessity of dealing more sharply with them: on which, they appeared the next day of public worship, and had continued steady ever since. He supposed it the most substantial method of making converts, as also of ending quarrels or disputes. To all which I opposed several texts out of the New Testament; to the validity of which he assented, and strongly avowed his friendship for us, and promised to use his influence in order to open our way amongst the other nations of his acquaintance, which is extensive.

We had to dine with us a religious Dunker and his wife, settlers hereaway, with whom we had fellowship. They felt near to us; which I believe was reciprocal. In the afternoon, we had a visit from capt. John, Young Peter, and another Indian; to whom we read Friends' address, with which they expressed satisfaction, renewed their professions of friend-

ship, and wanted a copy of our epistle, which we waived, until the general assemblage at the great Council. In the evening, had a visit from two respectable, intelligent British officers, who behaved with politeness and civility.

13th. Had an interview with capt. Elliott, deputy under col. McKee, the British superintendent of Indian affairs, who has been, for several weeks, engaged with numerous tribes of Indians in their councils at the rapids of Miami, preparatory to the great Council. Elliott has great influence with the middle hostile nations of Indians, and being an intelligent person, and I thought, well disposed, might be extensively useful in promoting the desirable work of general peace. We suggested to him, as the supplies for the treaty came through his hands, to guard against spirituous liquors being furnished. To the propriety of which, as well as to divers other remarks, he assented. We received an invitation to dine with the British officers at the mess house tomorrow. Through the variety of company and visitors, my mind is preserved in a quiet, humble hope that the Lord is preparing our way.

Here I met with a Quebec Calendar, wherein was inserted the names, situation, and supposed number, of such Indian nations as have hitherto been discovered in North America—being as follows:

The Choctaws or Flat-heads, and the Natches—

situate on the Mobile and Mississippi,	4500
The Chickasaws, - - - - -	750
The Cherokees—South Carolina, -	2500
The Catawbias—between N. and S. Carolina,	150
The Piantias—a wandering tribe, on both sides the Mississippi, - - - - -	800

The Kasqueasquias, or Illinois—in general on the Illinois river, and between the Wabash and Mississippi,	-	-	-	600
The Peankeshaws—on the Ouabache,	-	-	-	250
The Ouachtenons,	do	-	-	400
The Kikapous,	do	-	-	300
The Shawnese—on the Sciota,	-	-	-	500
The Delawares—west side Ohio,	-	-	-	300
The Miamis—on the Miami river, falling into Lake Erie—and the Miniamis,	-	-	-	350
The Upper Creeks, back of Georgia—the Middle Creeks, behind West Florida—and the Lower Creeks, in East Florida,	-	-	-	4000
The Canitas—on the east of the river Alibamous,	-	-	-	700
The Alibamous—west of the Alibamous,	-	-	-	600
The Arkansawas—on the Arkansaw river, falling into the Mississippi, on the west side,	-	-	-	2000
The Anjoues—north of the Missouri,	-	-	-	1000
The Paddoneas—west of the Mississippi,	-	-	-	500
The White Panis—south of Mississippi,	-	-	-	2000
The Freckled Panis,	do	-	-	2000
The Canses,	do	-	-	1600
The Osages,	do	-	-	600
The Grand Eaux,	do	-	-	1000
The Missouri—on the river Missouri,	-	-	-	3000
The Sioux of the Woods—towards the heads of the Mississippi,	-	-	-	1800
The Sioux of the Meadows,	do	do	do	2500
The Blanes Barbus, or White Indians with beards,	-	-	-	1500
The Assiniboils—far north, near the lake of the same name,	-	-	-	1500
The Christaneaux,	do	do	do	3000

The Ouisconsins—on a river of that name that falls into the Mississippi, on the east side,	550
The Mascoutins—south of Puans Bay,	500
The Sakis, do do	400
The Michecouakis, do do	250
Tolle Avvine, or the Wild Oat Indians—near Puans Bay,	400
The Puans—near Puans Bay,	700
The Powtowatamis—near St. Joseph's river and Detroit,	350
The Messesaques, or River Indians—being wandering tribes on the Lakes Huron and Superior,	2000
The Ottahwas—near the Lakes Superior and Michigan,	900
The Chipawas, do do do	5000
The Wyandots—near Lake Erie,	300
The Iroquois, or Six Nations—frontiers of New York,	1500
The Round Headed Indians—near the head of Ottahwa river,	2500
The Algonquins—near the above,	300
The Nepessins, do	400
The Chalas—St. Lawrence Indians, on the back of Nova Scotia,	130
The Amelistes, do do do	550
The Miemacks, do do do	700
The Abenakis, do do do	350
The Canawayhunns—near the Falls of St. Lewis	200

Total, 58,680

This being the number of men fit for bearing arms; to which add about one-third that number old and superannuated—the amount of which number

multiplied by six, is estimated to be the whole number of men, women and children, of the native Indians now discovered.

This evening, had a visit from capt. Keasy, brother to capt. Brant, and brother-in-law to capt. John. He professed Christianity—and spoke of the flood—also mentioned Noah's name—and said, “Good man build ship like house—take in two and two pigeons—other things—rain twelve days first—bad men drink grog—dance—laugh at good man—rain fall very heavy—bad men frightened—run up to the top of mountains—water rise—rise—bad people get canoes—come to ship—Noah say, go away—ship full—all drown then. Ship fall on top mountain—break—all come out. Great Spirit say, no more drown all world. Next, make all gone; fire, rivers come—powder, lakes too—star fall—set fire—pooh! All come to Great Spirit—to all good people, say, come my right hand—go up there to the light—bad people, say, go left hand—go down dark, fire, brimstone—never see candle. Got this big book—come from old England—King George, good man. Mr. Steward, my father, give me sacrament—tell me, pray—sing. I sing hundred psalm, you please. (Then he tuned melodiously.) And I am captain Keasy, captain Brant's brother—O yes, captain Keasy”—putting his hand on his breast. Thus our interview ended. I was pleased, nay, thankful, to find his mind a little cultivated by a sense of right and wrong, and a belief in future rewards and punishments.

14th. Breakfasted with captain Elliott and captain Cowen, who hospitably entertained us at table, also with agreeable conversation. On our return, we called to see about twenty Chipawa Indians, just

arrived from Michilimackinack, about three hundred miles north-west of this post, near the west end of Lake Huron. To which place vessels can sail from Fort Erie, without interruption of carrying place or falls. These remote Indians were dressed, and painted with black, red, green, and blue; having turbans round their heads, with pikes and prongs of skins, feathers, hair, sticks, &c. projecting eighteen inches out from the sides of their heads—frightfully painted and cut—the squaws and others, with tails of wild beasts passing over the top of their heads, and hanging down their backs. But my genius, pen, and even imagination in its strongest picturesques, must fall short of the shocking, striking, curious prospect of these northern inhabitants of the wilderness. They had drunk rum to excess, before we reached them. Several were much disguised. The more sober shook hands, and appeared friendly, to whom I gave a small present. Yet two very stout, grim, middle-aged men, were raised into rage and anger at us, loudly saying—shemochteman! shemochteman! I said no; not shemochteman—brothers, from Philadelphia. At which they rose higher, and more clamorous. We found they could understand little or none of our conversation. Some of the young Indians, meanwhile, were singeing the hair off a small animal over a fire, preparing for breakfast. We conjectured it to be a puppy.

My heart felt exceeding sorrowful, and the language of my soul was, How much owest thou unto thy Lord? The picture of these poor degraded animals in human shape, involved many serious considerations respecting the approaching Council; where

would probably be many hundreds, more wild and ferocious than these. My mind was covered with lamentation respecting the cause of such degradation, which, at least in part, appears to arise from abandoned and profligate white people having the greatest intercourse with them in their trade and towns; to which, stimulated by the love of money, they resort, at the risk of their lives—carrying their vices, immoralities, and bad example with them. These, the poor uncultivated Indians easily imbibe; and, taking root in a soil adapted to receive evil seed, produce fruits, dreadful to behold.

The greatest discouragements attending from day to day respecting the desired peace, arise from a query or doubt, that a neglect of religious duty towards these poor people in earlier time, might be rewarded by a continuance of unrelenting, savage chastisement on our borders, from the old inhabitants of the land; whose murderous practices and their cruel instruments of death, and engines of destruction, I tremble to relate—such as rifles, bayonets, scalping knives, and tomahawks of brass and steel; and the bodies of some almost covered over with silver, tin and other plates, broaches, bobs, &c. as hostile ensigns. In all which, may I not say with sorrow and blushing, they have been equalled, if not exceeded, by the professed followers of the meek and humble Jesus, whose holy kingdom and divine law suffer violence and depression, to a mournful degree.

This day we dined at the mess house, with about sixteen respectable British officers; all young gentlemen from Great Britian and Ireland: several of whom were estated men, to a great amount. They

behaved with a modest civility, far exceeding my expectation from military characters. The entertainment was luxuriously sumptuous, and hospitable, as to flesh, fish, fruit, and vegetables, with variety of wines and excellent London porter. We dined at four o'clock, and spent till near sunset in agreeable conversation, on various subjects—such as religion, governments, war, peace, theatrical exhibitions; and, at the conclusion, they begged leave to drink a toast; which, out of complaisance, they dispensed with, except the King's health. We told them we could not encourage the practice, as it frequently proved an inlet to intemperance, and sometimes intoxication—which they granted; nevertheless they took the liberty to drink,—Success to the Quakers in the present honourable and disinterested undertaking.

After night, a lad named Daniel Frazer, came to our lodgings. He told us he was taken prisoner by the Indians, out of Russell county in Virginia. Here came also James Henry, a smart young man, a prisoner with the Blind Chief, near the mouth of the river Roosh, twelve miles from Detroit. He is adopted; which renders his case difficult. They have put jewels in his nose and ears, and figured him like an Indian. He is desirous of returning to his relations near Georgetown, Eastern Shore of Maryland. In this house is hired a young woman, whose name is Field, taken from Ohio, below Fort Pitt, where her father lived when she was taken. We have met with divers others, whose cases excite sympathy and concern, and to which attention has been paid; but we thought it most prudent not to make strenuous exertions at present, lest it might operate to our dis-

advantage at the treaty, in procuring the enlargement of prisoners more generally.

15th. Abiah Park came to see us. He is a trader with the Indians. He entertains doubts of a peace; yet says, if one can be made, it will be permanent. This forenoon felt easy to appoint a meeting, to begin at ten o'clock to-morrow, at a shop in the ship-yard, under the direction of William Baker, a Friend in principle, and cousin to George Baker of Philadelphia.

In the evening several Indians of the Wyandot tribe came to our lodgings to see us. They live about twenty miles from this place, at a town called Mogogam. One Samuel Sanders, a Scotchman, who lives with them, interpreted. They told us they had heard their fathers say the Quakers were honest, and never wronged them; and they hoped we would stand for justice, and not see them wronged at the treaty. We informed them we came in love to see them, and to renew old friendship; that the power did not lay with us—but we believed the commissioners were sincerely disposed for peace. There also came to our lodgings, a party of the Chipawas—an old chief and several warriors, one of whom had a human scalp, with beautiful fair curled hair on it, tied to his ear. These were some of those, who, a day or two before, had treated us so roughly. A white man who stood near us at that time, and understood their language, told us they had a desire to have our scalps. They appear to be a terrible nation, fierce, insolent and warlike; and, I believe, exceedingly injured by their intercourse with the white people, especially the French, many of whom are little more refined than they. Their almost in-

cessant importunity for rum, made the interview not so agreeable. We mostly evaded giving them liquor, and substituted pipes and tobacco, to put them off.

16th. First of the week. Went to meeting, where a large number of the inhabitants of the town, and military men, assembled. I believe it was a solid season, and truth's testimony was exalted over all opposition; notwithstanding rawness and dark insensibility were painfully prevalent. We came to our lodgings, and dined with two Wyandot chiefs, who had been to see us the preceding evening.— They behaved with decency at table, equal to any of us; handled their knife and fork well, eat moderately, drank two glasses of wine, and through the whole, conducted with a decorum that would do honour to hundreds of white people. We afterwards went down the river in col. England's boat, about six miles, to the house of Judge Powell, where we had appointed a meeting. The Judge and his family being gone to England, his steward had kindly offered his house. A considerable number convened, and I was comforted in a belief that the everlasting gospel was preached in Canada. After which we returned to our lodgings.

17th. This morning there were many unfavourable reports respecting the hostile dispositions of the Indians, passing on to the treaty. The circumstances of things appear very critical and alarming. Even our personal safety is called in question, and much doubted, unless the commissioners have very extensive powers. As I was writing in the chamber where I lodged, two Wyandots, much in liquor, came up into the room, and teased me for rum. I put them off. After some time they laughed, shook

hands and departed—at which I was glad, as I was alone. Dined with capt. England, capt. Leaburn, maj. Andrews, and several other military gentlemen, and two of their ladies. They were very courteous and polite.

18th. We wrote a letter two days ago, in order to hasten the commissioners to come forward to this place, being more contiguous to Sandusky, and more in the way of information. This morning we wrote a few lines to col. McKee, at the great preparative council at Miami rapids, expressive of our peaceable mission.

Ten principal Indians, Senecas and Cayugas, came to see us. Several of them old men, with gray hairs, and furrowed brows; evident marks of a round of years, attended with variety of hardships, exercise, sorrow, and pain. Their depressed countenances awakened all the compassionate feelings of my mind towards them. But my agency seemed so feeble, I could only retire into solemn quietude, and intercede the common Father to be the comfort and prop of their declining years. The old Fish-carrier was one of the number.

This day my exercise of mind was heavy, and my heart sorrowful, in a feeling of the sufferings of the pure Seed in this place, and the cruelty and oppression which reign among the children of men, even of the most polished nations. What enormous salaries are given to military officers, both sea and land, as also to officers in civil government, who too generally stand opposed, with thousands of others in more inferior stations, to the spreading and increase of the kingdom and government of the Prince of Peace. In a little interview with capt. Munsey,

a sprightly British officer, I took the liberty to mention the possibility, that when the broils in France should subside, the African slave trade be abolished, and a permanent peace concluded with our American Indians, all this globe might be at peace; and that swords (of which he had one by his side) might be beaten into ploughshares. He quickly replied, he hoped not to see such a time, as it would also beat up his bread and butter, (meaning his living.) Such are the views of too many in this day.

A middle aged Indian, of the Delaware tribe, dined with us. He talked a little English, by which we understood he was in possession of several sheets of ancient writings; that he had heard of Friends, and just faintly remembered Z. Heston and John Parrish being at their town. He said there were but Buchongeholas, Pipe, and two other chiefs belonging to their nation; that we might depend, if they said peace, it would be peace; but if they said war, it would be war. Also said we would find the middle tribes more faithful and manly than the Chipawas and Wyandots; for they were treacherous. I told him they had called us Shemochteman, or Big Knife, and said they wanted our scalps; at which he laughed.

19th. Crossed the river, and went down the eastern bank four miles, to the house of John Missiner, where we had a solemn season, with a number of his neighbours, to the contriting of the hearts of divers present. Lodged with him that night.

20th. This morning had a religious opportunity in his family, in which, and the preceding meeting, dear John Parrish was favoured in an extraordinary manner. After parting with them, we walked up the river about a mile, called at the house of Francis

Cornwall, and had conversation with him and his precious wife Anna, on the subjects of water baptism, the bread and wine, &c.; which they endeavoured, for a while, to defend; but at length gave it up. We likewise had a close conversation with a French militia captain on the subject of war, which we held to be incompatible with the purity, spirit, and precepts of the gospel. To the general scope of which, he assented; but alleged, that according to the oath of allegiance to his king, when he ordered martial enterprises, he must obey; and that his king must be responsible for what was done. We silenced his arguments; and proceeded to Frederick Arnold's. On the way, I went to visit a man who was deranged. He was chained in a barn. At first, he would neither look at me, nor speak to me. He was sitting down. I spoke to him in the fear of the Lord, and desired him not to be discouraged; but trust in the Lord; for he was come to seek and to save that which was lost. He then lifted up his eyes, and stared at me very wildly. I said I hoped he would be better. He said he hoped he would. He then stood up on his feet, and said, "My trust is in the Lord, and not in going into the water." I learned he had been pressed by some zealous Baptists to undergo that operation, which he could not consent to. I gave him some further counsel, and left him. I heard next day he was so rational as to be unchained.—Lodged with Frederick Arnold, a long bearded Tunker, an inoffensive man; but, like his brethren and too many others, loves money.

21st. John Elliott and myself walked several miles up the river, and were ferried over it in a canoe, by a Frenchman. The river is about three-

quarters of a mile wide opposite the town. In this excursion I made the following observations:

From Lake Erie up to this place, is eighteen miles. Each farm is laid out about forty perches on the river—mostly improved, with houses, gardens, and orchards; and extending back, where the land is level, and abounds with grass, and where hundreds of cattle thrive exceedingly, producing beef, butter, cheese, veal, &c. in plenty. Their winters are about four months, in which it is requisite to feed stock. The country, at present, is excellently adapted for raising live stock. The soil is mixed, and various, clay, gravel, sand, &c. Here are fine fields of wheat and peas, but too wet for corn. The whole country is level, to a fault, without a stone, except on islands in the mouth of the river Croeseel, and on the banks of the lake, which are generally limestone. These are monopolized by old Indian traders, and sold to the inhabitants at a high rate, for the purpose of building their chimnies, &c.

Hog Island is in sight, above the garrison. It appears to be well timbered. I am told it took its name from this circumstance: being infested with rattlesnakes to such a degree that people were afraid to enter upon it; and, as the best expedient, they turned on it a large herd of three or four year old swine. In time, the hogs destroyed the reptiles so that it became habitable, and thence was called Hog Island.

Large rafts of excellent timber are brought into the king's yard, in this place, from the river Latrench; and some fine masts and beams come by water out of lake Huron, quite thro' lake St. Clair. The changes of weather are great and frequent here. There are no eels found in the waters, nor

rats on the land, west, or above the great Falls of Niagara. Here is abundance of corn boiled in strong lye, and made into what we call slut hominy, to go in the north-west trade, as far as a place called the Black North, said to be eighteen hundred miles distant, now in the hands of British and Scotch merchants. They go thither in batteaux. I saw a man who resided there three years; who says, early in the spring they set out with choice peltry, such as beaver, otter, minks, martins, &c. come to the great portage, where they are met by the batteaux from Montreal, exchange their load, and each returns just as winter sets in. To the north-west posts, Indians frequently come that never saw a white man before. They are clothed in buffaloe and bear skins, neatly softened, whitened and dressed. They are kind and good natured, use bows and arrows, and have no fire arms. They cover their cabins with large rough skins: as the merchants rarely purchase even deer skins; having such an abundance of more rich furs that they cannot send the coarse skins forward. This trade is rich and extensive, and employs the capitals of many merchants, both in England and Canada. The great channel of this trade is down the Grand river from Huron lake, to which is but a short carrying place. An immense quantity of skins pass this way. The whole of the trade makes way for large numbers of Canadian watermen to get a living. The wages for them, and also for hands on land, average about six pounds a month. Cows sell at fifteen pounds a head—sheep, six dollars a piece—veal calves, twelve dollars each.

The English and German farmers are likely to alter the manner of living, and customs in this place,

for the better. The old French settlers in general are poor economists, and proud withal—live miserably at home, yet appear grand abroad. It is said they live much on boiled fish, supping the broth without either bread or salt. They are superstitiously religious, going to mass more than two hundred days in the year. They have two large worship houses here, and a number of crosses set up on the banks of the river and other places, to evince their christianity.

22nd. Walked up the river about four miles to a place called Bloody Bridge, from a contest which happened there between the British, Canadians, and Indians, where many fell. We called at a respectable French farmer's, who took us into a curious garden of fruit, flowers, &c.; also into his house, where were pictures, representing Christ on the cross, old Saints, &c. John Elliott talked French to them; they appeared pleased, and behaved politely. Though much apparent superstition and idolatry are indulged amongst them, yet I hope many are looking beyond it to the more substantial parts of true worship: although I have seen them after mass, frolicking and horse racing in the road passing the worship house, or as it were, at the door, the remaining part of the day, to their reproach. The buildings on the banks of the river, though low, being mostly a story and a half, are beautiful, and the farms fertile—but their fuel and rails are all to be drawn about four miles. On our return, we fell in with several Chipawa camps—they had tents of mats curiously wrought of flags, reeds, rushes, &c. Their canoes were made of bark, with great skill and ingenuity.

(To be continued.)

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 3.]

SECOND MONTH, 1832.

[VOL. II.]

JACOB LINDLEY'S JOURNAL.

(CONTINUED.)

23rd. First-day. Had a meeting in the sail-loft, with a considerable number of people. It was a time of stripping and heavy exercise; yet I trust the gospel testimony did not suffer reproach. A number of Indians came to see us, and behaved civilly. One said he was glad at his heart to see us.

24th. Taken up in writing home.

25th. Air cold and chilly. This forenoon a wolf was brought to the wharf, which was shot on Hog Island. It is said to have been floated there from the main land last winter on a cake of ice. Since which time he has killed sixty pigs. The owner of the island advertised twenty dollars for his head. A half Indian shot him. He was higher than any dog I ever saw, and his teeth larger and stronger than a mastiff's. He was about six feet long from the end of the nose to the feet or paws of the hind legs—of a grayish colour, short, broad ears, and a long hairy, but not bushy, tail.

This morning we received account that a company of Chipawa Indians who had got too much rum, differed in their tent on the commons. Two of them attacked a third, and stabbed him to death with their knives. A sorrowful instance of the shocking, horrid effects of this man-bane, (distilled spirits.) This

has been the great engine, and mainspring, which has prepared the way and led to thousands of acts of hostility, and murders without number. It has evidently appeared to me to be the greatest obstacle in the way of the civilization and happiness of the Indian natives—the removal of which, loudly calls for the united exertions of our Government, and that of Great Britain, together with the unremitting endeavours of all Christians, and lovers of mankind. I consider this important object of so great magnitude, as hardly to be equalled by any terrestrial achievement. Oh! that legislators would lay it more deeply to heart, and the professed followers of Jesus lift up a glorious ensign against this mighty destroyer of mankind! Instead of which, sorrow is now added to affliction, until blood touches blood, by furbished swords, harnessed men and horses, glittering spears, sounding drums and trumpets—while elated captains, colonels, and generals, glorying in their multitude and their pomp, forget that “Tophet is ordained of old” for those, and that they should descend into it—forgetting also “the sword that is bathed, and that shall come upon the mountains of Idumea”—forgetting too the God of armies, who is able, by the diminutive fly or worm, to lay the glory and pomp of all nations in the dust—nor considering that it is righteousness which exalteth a nation.

This town is picketted all round. It consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, crowded together. The fort lays adjoining the town, on the north side. Watchmen are placed at four gates leading into the town; sentinels also stand on the ramparts and bastions of the fortifications, who cry from one to another, every fifteen minutes, from nine in the

evening, to three o'clock in the morning, *all is well*, and the last cries, *all is very well*. But it appeared a superficial sound to me. This day we dined at W.F.'s, which I think nothing could have induced us to attempt, but the remembrance of our great Example being a friend of sinners. The old man treated us with generous hospitality, which we requited with plain dealing.

26th. Twenty-eight Indians arrived to-day, from Mackinoi, [Michilimackinac] on their way to the Council. Dined at John Askin's, one of the most respectable merchants in this place. We were entertained in a pleasing manner. His wife is a French woman, of an amiable, easy, graceful deportment. We had the company of Dr. Wright, lately married to commodore Grant's daughter, a discreet young woman, who was present; also lawyer Smith, a British merchant, John Askin's daughter, an agreeable young girl, and others. Our topics were, resignation and dependence on Divine support, in the use of prudent and lawful endeavours, for both spiritual and temporal blessings;—the origin of the Indians, with remarks on many traces of antiquity found in the wilderness. From all which, with their sacrifices; observations of moons; care for the sepulchres and bones of their deceased ancestors; division into so many tribes,—the probability, and almost certainty, was inferred, of their being the dispersed tribes of Israel; and therefore, from Scripture testimony and prophecy (some part of which was fulfilled, which strongly corroborated that which yet remained) it was inferrible that they would be restored,—not to a Jewish, ceremonious Israel, but to a spiritual Israel of the circumcision, made without

hands. It was also urged, that it was our duty to use endeavours to promote, and pray for this, in preference to effecting their extermination. For which purpose, many dark and diabolical machinations are proposed; one of these I had recently heard of, viz. To take a large quantity of liquor, of which they are extremely fond, and infuse the strongest poison therein: take it into an army which should make feint shows, until the body of them should be collected, then make a sham battle, and retreat with precipitation, leaving the liquor behind. The subject was closely combated, and I thought, ended in favour of the cause of injured humanity.

After our interview closed, three of us walked out to speak to the Chipawas, lately arrived. We met five or six of them; but they could not understand us, neither we them, only this much, Chemochteman, Bostone. I offered my hand to them repeatedly, as also did John Parish, which they as often refused. They had come down the lakes four hundred miles; which shows how wide and deep the prejudice against our citizens has extended.

27th. Were visited at our lodgings by Dr. Wright, captain Munsey, Broadhead, Crawford, and several other officers, who continue very respectful to us.

From this place, many hundreds of bushels of hominy go yearly to Mackinoui, from whence it is forwarded to the Grand Portage; there it is parceled out at one bushel to a man—who is more prudent than to use one grain in his north-western route of about eighteen hundred, or as some say, two thousand miles from the Grand Portage, as it is to be his main support in case of sickness, accidents, &c. one whole year. But while health remains, they substi-

tute huckleberries in their season, which they dry in the smoke to take off the insipid sweet taste,—other times, wild rye is gathered and boiled—at others, they catch large fish, boil them, select the large bones, which being pounded or beaten, are packed in the skin of some beast just taken off, to preserve for use. They kill beasts and birds, eat the flesh and drink the blood, without either bread or salt. Thus they live.

The trade is principally carried on (that is, the labour,) by Canadians, who are quite as hardy, and almost as savage, as the Indians themselves. They are not allowed by the merchants at Montreal to take into the north-west more than one bushel, as their canoes must be of just such a weight as two men can carry on their shoulders, and will just hold so much, as is completely filled with goods suitable for the Indian trade. The company has arrived at great opulence by this business. They extend it by their accounts so far as to mix, at times, and meet with merchants of the wilderness like themselves, employed by the Hudson Bay company. One old man is returned, whom John Askin says he never knew to deviate from the truth, as too many travellers do. He says he has explored those high latitudes fifty years, and that far beyond all buffaloes, bears, and large beasts of any kind; the country there will produce no kind of grain, nor large trees; but the most fine furs, the beaver, otter, and martin skins, always selling at market for a third more than middle furs. Askin says, Alexander Henry frequently tried to raise corn on the banks of Lake Superior, but never could get one ear in perfection. All which, and abundance more that might be truly inserted,

conspire to give forty degrees north latitude the preference for human beings to breathe in. This evening, had a visit from capt. John Drake, an old Guinea trader, now a navigator on these lakes, remarkable for using no kind of drink but water; yet is a healthy, robust man. He is employed in the north-west trade, and just arrived from the Falls of St. Mary, at the entrance into Lake Superior. On this trade, the company has one topsail vessel, and a larger one on the stocks, ready to launch. They navigate that lake about four hundred miles, and some distance up a river, to the Grand Portage—where the goods are taken to canoes, by about one thousand men. These canoes run, as it is supposed, at least fifteen hundred miles west-north-west,—which requires them to be exceedingly industrious to make the post before winter—and when winter sets in a week or two sooner than common, they are frequently caught by the way.

One McKenzie, and ten men, set out last spring was a year from the Black, or by some called the Grand North Post, to attempt further discoveries; they have not been heard of since. He had been out once before, for twelve months; and met with mountains of salt ice. He now expects to be out three years. Some of these northern adventurers return, and appear as well as those who remain at home feasting on delicacies. In short, the young men hereaway think themselves no more accomplished for company or conversation, not having taken this journey, than our young gentlemen, not having taken the tour of Europe.

A day or two past, we had the company of five Moravian Indians, whose sorrowful history deeply

affected us. After ninety-six of their people had been barbarously murdered at Muskingum, they were terrified and driven from one place to another, seven times. Their last movement was to the river Traunch, or Thames. They put in seventy acres of corn last year, which grew to good size, but being a little too late, was killed by the frost. By which means, about one hundred and forty men, women, and children, are under great suffering for want of bread. Government furnished two hundred bushels of corn for their relief, which was nearly expended. On consideration of their being as the first fruits of Indian civilization, and are reputed very industrious; as also on consideration of the concern of our society for the natives of the land, and the business in which we were embarked, we, on conferring together, were united in prospect, that it would be right, strangers and pilgrims as we were, to try our credit to supply them with one hundred dollars worth of corn and flour. Which being procured from Matthew Dolson, we furnished them with it; for which they and their missionary, Sensemer, appeared thankful; and I believe it had a good savour amongst the people here. We wrote a short epistle, expressive of our good wishes for and kind remembrance of them, and sent by Sam. White, John Kilbuck, and their companions, to David Zeisberger, to be read generally among their society at home.

28th. Warm and sultry. Stayed mostly at our lodgings.

29th. Had a visit from a Wyandot chief, who appeared to have much concern respecting the approaching treaty—also, a remembrance of former

treaties and belts. Some long and broad belts he said they had, that were intended not only to bind us by the hands, but clasp us by the arms, so that no small accidents should in future be able to make a separation;—and that, notwithstanding all that had happened, the Wyandots felt some of the old affection to possess their breasts, and he hoped we would find it so at the general Council: but could speak for none but themselves. We desired our interpreter, J. Heckewelder, to assure him we possessed the same love and friendship for them, and for all other Indians, that we, or our forefathers, ever did—that our principles had always restrained us from making war against them. But when we believed the government was disposed to make peace with them, on principles of justice, we were willing to leave our homes and near connexions, and at a great expense, undertake a long and hazardous journey, to endeavour to promote it, and to be present at the concluding of so good a work. On delivery of which, he said he knew long ago we did not fight, but were for peace. He then got up, and shook hands with Friends, then sat down, and spoke in substance as follows: That as we had come a long journey, and were all preserved in health, it was evident the Great Spirit was pleased with our coming; and he hoped some good would be done, and that the Great Spirit would bring us home in the same good health, with peace and joy. To which we replied, we were glad of such an opportunity to talk with him, and if the great and good work of peace could be effected, we hoped we should return home with joy and peace; which was all the reward we wanted or looked for. He asked whether it would be disagreeable, if he

was to come and dine with us, to which we invited him.

We were also visited this morning by Abram, Katherine his wife, Rebekah and Mary, his daughters. They live at Miami Rapids, are Mohickons, and appear much civilized. Also, some Shawnee women, one a widow, who, because of her situation, had taken off her bobs, jewels, and trinkets, with which the others shone with splendor, having massy plates of silver about them, I have no doubt, to an amount that would have clothed them in silk and velvet. Had it not been for the profuse introduction of distilled spirits amongst these people, and the frauds in consequence of it imposed upon them, also the ravages and depredations of war, with multiplied murders and thefts, they would at this day have been a very wealthy people in silver and gold, cattle and horses. But the reverse is, at present, their sorrowful situation, I fear, to our condemnation. The history of their barbarity, treachery, and breach of faith to the white people, and to one another, which we have heard rehearsed by people well acquainted with facts, since we arrived here, would be painful, tedious, and indeed too shocking to relate. These circumstances almost stagger the faith of their best friends. Even one of the Moravian missionaries said, that even if peace should be concluded, it would not last long, until they were further chastised. John Parrish asked by what means? Did he mean the sword? It was answered, "yes—not until they were convinced the United States were too powerful for them, and able to subject them." These being the sentiments of those who had lived long among them solely to promote peace, and the principles of the

gospel, proved very discouraging to us. They also pronounced it impossible to instruct them in the principles of justice, equity, and government; which I was not willing to admit.

We had a visit to-day from Nathan Williams, an intelligent man, especially in Indian affairs, which he has been intimately acquainted with. He, in a friendly manner, suggested fears that we would be either killed, or kept as hostages, at the ensuing Council. And truly I am not astonished at their ideas, considering the spectacles of human misery they are almost daily presented with, and the rumours they hear—where tribes of Indian warriors have so frequently passed, with their disconsolate prisoners; and with poles stuck up in the front of their canoes, some with fifteen, others with thirty scalps suspended on them, in trophy of their courage and victory. Though it must be said in honour of British humanity, and commendation of this government, Upper Canada, and its truly respectable and generous officers, they have interfered to the relief of scores of prisoners, and obtained their redemption at a great price. Divers of these we have met with, and they appeared as the very outcasts of England and Ireland, who, as col. England and other officers told me, hardly had the manners to acknowledge the kindness, though in some instances it cost one hundred pounds. But in case of a real American, they never begrudged it.

This has been a high day at the Roman chapel; being canonized in honour of St. Peter. They rung the bells, and it is said, carried about the host. At ten, they assembled at the chapel in great numbers, men, women, and children. Some kneeled, and ma-

ny sung aloud. I saw them through the windows, from our lodging. Many of them appeared sincere. But oh! the clouds of lifeless ceremonies, of images, pictures, water, wine, wafers; schemes of human policy and earthly wisdom, operating as so many veils which obscure the inshining of the rays of the Sun of righteousness, darkening counsel to a sorrowful degree, often amongst men in eminent stations. Indeed, the veil of the covering spread over all nations, is only destroyed in proportion as we approach, and ascend the Lord's peaceable, holy mountain, in the purity of his saints, as little children,—where, without cloud of ceremony, or mist of darkness or unbelief, their angels do behold the face or appearance of their Father in heaven,—they behold his universal love,—in his pure fear,—in the awful attributes of his righteous judgments,—and incomprehensible mercies,—more than heart can think, or tongue can speak,—and, in abasement, they bow before the name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom surely is everlasting strength, and to whom I desire to commit my cause, and commend my soul, with my dear companion and our tender babes, if we should never more meet in this vale of tribulation.

Last night, about eleven o'clock, five or six guns went off smartly one after another. The report sounded unpleasant, especially, anticipating if it should so happen at Sandusky, how it would probably alarm. I understand it was at some wolves which had destroyed a neighbour's sheep.

30th. We were visited by a principal man of the Wyandots, called the Blind Chief, with his nephew, grand-son, and great-grand-son, a likely lad of twelve years old. They were well dressed, and appeared

friendly. We informed them, by an interpreter, of our friendly motives in this visit, and explained our uniform peaceable principles and practice, for more than one hundred years; and that we wished to promote peace in our country. He told us, eight of their principal men were gone to the Council at Miami Rapids, with pacific views and intentions. They took leave of us in a decent, respectable manner.

This day we had two meetings in the king's sail-loft, largely attended by citizens, officers, and soldiers, of Detroit; which, though deeply exercising, wading as through mire, and dirt, and rubbish, yet were to a good degree satisfactory.

1st of 7th mo. Breakfasted at capt. Elliott's: afterwards attended the burial of Isidore Shone, at the Roman chapel, where the priest in his pontifical robes was preceded by a man bearing on an ensign like a halbert, a large cross; and attended by singers, and two little lads, each with a candle. They, with the priest and singers, were clothed in black petticoats, and covered over the arms and shoulders with a white surplice, which reached down to the knee. When the coffin, which was covered with a black pall with costly fringe, approached the threshold of the chapel, the bearers made a small halt, the priest turned round with a brush in his hand, and sprinkled water on the apparatus about the deceased. I did not go inside of the house, but saw numbers of lighted candles burning in it; which made but a faint light; as the sun shone bright, and the day was exceeding warm. Notwithstanding which, the ecclesiastical part of the procession went bare-headed, and very slow, muttering, or rather growling, a sen-

tence or two of Latin, over and over, all the way. Indeed the whole of this religious parade appeared to have more of Jewish ceremony, or Gentile superstition in it, than Christian simplicity or gravity.— They deposited the poor tabernacle under the floor, rung the bells, sung aloud, made their sanctum sanctorum resound, and then departed. Numbers of them come to mass on first-day, eight or ten miles, just step in, and (they say) rhyme over their paternoster, dip their finger into the font, cross themselves, and out again, to drink and frolic.

2nd. I went on board the Ottoway, capt. Cowan, just arrived from Fort Erie, in hopes of hearing from home; in which I was disappointed. I found eighteen Oneida Indians on board, with whom I had some conversation. The captain informed me he had put sixty on shore at the mouth of the Miami, on their way to the Rapids, where, we are informed, twelve hundred Indians are assembled. This day we received a letter from colonel McKee, containing friendly sentiments, and an assurance that we should have timely notice of the opening of the treaty. We also received one from a young man on board the Chipaway, informing that colonel Butler, who was passenger with his Indians on board capt. Cowan's vessel, came on board their vessel, and in conversation in a select company where he had no suspicion, expressed, that if the commissioners should propose, or even hint any other terms than what were concluded upon by the Indians, he would not think it strange if every person from the colonies, commissioners, Quakers, and all, should be sacrificed on the spot; for they know no distinction, but their own people. This, the young man communicated to

us out of pure friendship, having heard it himself: which we treasured up at present. But truly, the pressure of murdering, dark, blood-thirsty spirits, from day to day, is exceeding heavy; always requiring us to watch and pray, that we may be furnished with the whole armour of light.

3rd. Col. England came to visit us. We went to see his garden—in the interview, he showed every mark of respect to Friends, and desired us as often as we wished to retire into his arbours in the heat of the day. We acknowledged his kindness, and went to our lodgings to dine, where we had the company of a young Shawnese chief. He was neatly dressed in Indian style. I computed he had, at least, one thousand silver broaches stuck on a new silk hunting shirt. He behaved at table with great gentility.

4th. Fourteen Indians came to see us. They appeared friendly. The weather exceeding warm. Although we are well supplied with provisions, yet, the water being all brought from the river, and standing in a tierce in the sunshine, makes our drink disagreeable. This, with a host of flies by day, and fleas and bugs by night, added to our state of suspense, required some fortitude and patience to keep our post without looking back, or meditating an escape.

5th. Had some conversation with an intelligent woman who had been taken prisoner in Kentucky, and separated from her husband and nine children. All had been favoured to meet again except one, which she says is now in Kentucky. She says, three hundred and ninety-five persons were taken, and scattered through the wilderness at the time they

were, fourteen years ago. Such a situation, contrasted with a land of peace, and the security of life, liberty, and property, may enable us to make some estimate of the blessings we enjoy, and the principles which lead to a permanent security of them.

This morning the Ottoway, capt. Cowan, sailed for Fort Erie, to go by the way of Miami Bay, having provisions on board for McKee and the Indians at the Rapids. In this vessel captain Elliott, deputy Indian agent for the British, embarked, to join McKee at the council. We acquainted him repeatedly with our design in coming to this country, and our prospects of the importance of the business in agitation, and engaged him to use his influence as speedily as possible to open the way for a treaty. I sent by this vessel some intelligence to Philadelphia, and sailed up the river past Hog Island and Pearl Island, into the lower end of Lake St. Clair, which is about thirty-six miles long, and eighteen broad. After taking a prospect of Gross Point, the residence of commodore Grant, we viewed N. Williams's stone wind mill, dined at his house, and returned eight or nine miles to our lodgings.

William Savery and William Hartshorn, in our absence, were visited by a Shawnese warrior, who announced to them what had before been frequently suggested to us by divers persons, that if the commissioners did not immediately agree that all the land west of the Ohio should be evacuated, and given up by the United States, or even hinted any thing to the contrary, by offering gifts or money as purchase, of which they understood they had brought abundance with them, that none of them, or their company, would ever go off the ground alive—for

their fathers, who are now all gone, had sold lands for knives, broaches, and rum, till they were now driven almost to the sun-setting, where they were determined to make a stand. He complained of the ruinous consequences of the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst their fathers, saying, at first they called it bitter water, and some, fiery water; but by repeated offers of it to them, they at length fell in with it to their hurt in general. He also informed, that four days before he left the Rapids, a deputation of two chiefs of each nation had embarked to meet the commissioners at Niagara, to let them know the outlines of their conclusions, and that if the white people would settle to the banks of Ohio, on the east side, and agree that the river should be the line, they would be glad, and take them by the hand, and call them brothers. All which intelligence, he said, might be depended on as true. Our apprehensions that the commissioners were vested with no such powers, and that the government had no such intentions, tended to thicken the cloud which seems impending over this land; as the seeds of destruction are sowing in a soil, prepared to produce shocking scenes.

This same Indian, getting raised with strong drink in the afternoon, made a stroke with his tomahawk at one Sylvester Ash, an interpreter, who had long resided with the Shawnese; Ash's exertions prevented his killing him: he then knocked off our landlord's hat, who struck him several hard blows, and turned him out of the house. Capt. Munsey being present, sent for two soldiers, who put him out of the garrison. He was much enraged. Upon the whole, all things conspire to increase the gloom,

and assure us that nothing short of wisdom from on high will do for us to lean to.

6th. My mind was deeply exercised with a consideration, how the way may open in this dark land, to lift up our testimony for the excellency of the government of Christ, our Redeemer, in these heathen regions of both white and red people. The Felicity is just arrived from the Miami, and confirms the account of the Indian deputation being gone to meet the commissioners at Niagara, accompanied by col. Butler and Simon Girty.

7th. First of the week. Held a meeting in the sail-loft, which was in a good degree comfortable and satisfactory. Just arrived from the Rapids, capt. John, David Kennedy, and Mohican Samuel, by whom we received a letter from capt. Hendricks, importing, that twenty nations were then assembled; that there were runners sent to bring forward the Powtowatomie chiefs; that in a few days, they should move to Sandusky, and that a desire for peace was gaining ground amongst them. This account from a man in whom we had confidence, was encouraging to us.

In the afternoon, we held a meeting for worship at a mill, at the river Ruzche, about five miles from Detroit, with a considerable number of middle aged and young people, to the peace of our minds. Returned in the evening, they having sent up horses to bring us down and carry us back.

8th. Had an interview with David Kennedy, a learned, intelligent man, just returned with captain John from the Rapids. He informs, there are a numerous host of Indians there, and that the general sentiments were looking towards peace; yet the

young Shawnese were high, and rough in their dispositions, especially the warriors. We also had an opportunity with about ten or twelve Indians of the Six Nations, desiring them to use their influence to promote the work of peace; which they appeared to unite with.

This forenoon we wrote to captain Hendricks by Samuel, also sent him some money (five dollars) for which he wrote. We have lately understood that hostilities have commenced between the Chipawas and Sioux of the Meadows, and Sioux of the Woods, against each other. They are powerful nations.

This day was another interment at the Roman chapel, of a man, said to be one hundred and fifteen years old. It was, as usual, attended with abundance of Romish pomp and superstition. The house was wonderfully replenished with lighted candles, which, in meridian sunshine, appeared to reflect no light at all; but rather a gloom—which is truly the case with spiritual sunshine, or gospel light. It all appeared dark.

9th. I went to visit col. England, where I met capt. Blue Jacket, a chief warrior among the Delawares, who, it is said, was in command at general St. Clair's defeat. He was dressed in scarlet, with gold tassels, and a laced hat. A brave, masculine figure of a man. I spoke to him by an interpreter, letting him know I was one of the people called Quakers, who were men of peace, and that we were come to try to heal, and make peace. He replied, he had heard of Quakers, and that they were harmless people, and did not fight. He was going to Montreal; but had given his opinion before he came away, and hoped matters would be settled.

We also had a visit to-day from several Shawnese. One of them was a middle-aged man, the most solid countenanced I had seen amongst them. We spoke to him by an interpreter, and let him know who we were, and what our views were in coming; and also our apprehensions of the sincerity of the government, in the present embassy. With which he appeared pleased, and said he heartily wished we might get through with the work of peace, that the young and active part of the Indian nations might know what to do, as it concerned them most, for the old ones had not long to live. He said he had heard of our people, that we did justly, and did not fight, and that he was glad to be with us. After drinking a glass or two of wine, he wished us well, and departed.

In my interview with col. England, I was presented with a sketch of the great falls, curiously taken by capt. Steel, who is an artist at such designs. I also had an account to-day, from a man employed at the Grand Portage. It is nine miles over, and three bundles of seventy pounds each, is the stipulated burden for each man to carry that distance. But some will carry more, and ascend and descend two mountains on the way. Two men carry the canoe on their shoulders, until the blood will run down, on green hands; but at length, the skin becomes hard as a bullock's neck accustomed to the yoke.—Thus they carry and row, over ninety carrying places, and as many creeks, puddles, little lakes, and rivers, for more than one thousand miles beyond the Grand Portage.

10th. Capt. Blue Jacket came to see us. We had a friendly interview with him. He is married to a

French merchant's daughter, late of this place, now deceased. Two Cayugas also visited us. But we painfully feel the want of suitable interpreters.— Many understand their language; but our sentiments being generally peaceful, serious, and religious, so opposite to those held by persons qualified to serve us, that what they delivered appeared to be with shame and reluctance. This put it out of our power fully to relieve our minds. My mental powers often centred in secret intercession to the Preparer of hearts, that the travail of my spirit might be conveyed through such aqueducts, to their advantage and edification, as may best consist with his wisdom and power. As our minds were bowed, and patiently waded under it, there evidently appeared a seriousness at times to impress their countenances.— Last evening we received a grateful letter from the Moravian Indians.

We had interviews to-day with several Indians, Munseys, Shawnese, and Delawares, to some satisfaction. They appeared pleased with our motives in coming. This afternoon, I visited a young woman educated at Newport, Rhode Island. Her father's name, William Foster. She went from home, contrary to her father's will, with one Molay, an officer in St. Clair's army. He was killed in the defeat of 1790, and she taken prisoner by the Indians, who kept her eleven months. She then got off, and has since lived in Detroit, and by her conduct evinced that she was not thankful enough for the many mercies and great deliverances wrought for her. Latterly she has been taken with epileptic fits, of which she frequently has divers in a day. The intervals of health are filled with bemoanings and cries for mer-

cy. Notwithstanding it appeared to me to be the chastening hand of judgment laid upon her, yet my sympathy was touched, to consider if she was my child, poor and quite destitute of friends able to comfort her, how should I feel. Oh! saith my soul, that the multiplied mournful instances recited in the catalogue of rebellion and disobedience to parents, might have the happy effect to induce young people early to seek the kingdom of God, and his righteousness: so would they be preserved out of snares, temptations, and beds of anguish and sorrow, the sure rewards of sin and disobedience.

11th. Dined at——Abbott's, a Detroit merchant, with all our company, except Joseph Moore. Indian affairs was the topic. In the course of the conversation, I felt some zeal for the testimony to arise; under which I spoke plainly to divers points, and some persons present urged the necessity of whipping, or further chastising the Indians, and the impossibility of effecting their reformation without it.

12th. Went down the river four miles, and paid three or four little visits to some friendly people. This afternoon, a vessel arrived from Fort Erie, bringing accounts that the Indian deputation had arrived there, and the commissioners were returned to Niagara. Which accounts, with no way opening as yet to see the Indians at the Rapids, and no letters from Philadelphia, make our situation here singularly trying.

13th. A small vessel arrived from Fort Erie, which brought letters from my wife, M. Miller, brother J. L. and Jonathan and Rumford Dawes, all fraught with love, and instructive communication. This was a joyous feast to my mind, and as marrow

to my bones, ministering much consolation and encouragement, and animating with increasing fervency and dedication to encounter the difficulties of our wilderness journey, with the varied conflicts and perils attendant thereon. We also received three general epistles, one from James Pemberton, one from John Pemberton, and one from Henry Drinker, all dated about 6th of 6th mo. 1793, which were mutually comforting and strengthening to our little band. To find and feel the help, sympathy, and travail of the spirits of our friends at home, was like the consecrating oil to each of us. This vessel also brought a letter to us from col. Pickering, announcing the arrival of the Indian deputation, just as they were about to embark, and the commissioners were requested to return to Navy Hall, to have a short speech in the audience of gov. Simcoe. As it was to be a short conference, they desired our further patience, and hoped to see us in a few days. This intelligence, after five weeks suspense, was not very pleasant.

14th. First of the week. Held a public meeting for worship in the ship-yard, which was attended by a large number of people, divers of whom are nearly attached to us. It was a solid, quiet season. But through ignorance of the divine principle, or through their inattention to it, and want of faith in it, truth, in this Babylonish land, does not rise into that dominion, as I have felt it in some other places.

I had an opportunity of conversing with Simon Girty's wife, who seems an inoffensive woman. She had been long a prisoner amongst the Indians. She gave an account of many of their methods of torture on their enemies. She says they used frequently

to speak of the Quakers in the nations, as a people that did not go to war. Capt. Elliott has just arrived from the Rapids, but nothing further has yet transpired.

15th. Had an interview with Elliott; he appears much reserved. Our anxious state of suspense continues. Being apprehensive of the Indian embassy to the commissioners preventing the proposed treaty, we wrote to col. McKee, also a short epistle to the Indians, to be in readiness to forward by the first opportunity.

Here we observed a species of Indian slaves, called Pawnees, or Punins, who are captives, chiefly taken by the Chipawas from the Suez, (Sioux) or Pawnee nations. But it is sorrowful to think, that in a British government so famed for liberty, they, and a number of the African race, are held in bondage during life.

This day I walked out into the woods, a mile and a half; when my further excursion was prevented by swamps, bogs, and marshes. In my route, I found stones in divers places, such as are observed on the margin of the lake. The land in general is almost sunk under water. My mind was strongly impressed with a belief, that lakes Huron, St. Clair, Erie, and Michigan were once united, and the tens of thousands of acres of low adjacent land, were all overflowed. By the breaking and wearing away of the great falls, as mentioned before, the water has lowered to the present surface: and as cultivation increases, I have no doubt the country will be improved by a further diminution of the marvellous cataract. The progress of population, at present, is obstructed, not only by the wet, unhealthy state of the country, but

also by other circumstances: viz. one-seventh of the whole country is reserved for the crown, and one-seventh for the episcopal clergy: also by an existing law of old Canada, all real estates, though sold seven times in seven years, must be sold at the chapel door, mostly on first-day afternoon, one-ninth whereof goes to the Roman church. By this means, some congregations, especially in Montreal and Quebec, have become immensely rich, and enabled to carry on their idolatrous pomp and parade of worship, so as to make the world wonder. But as light is rising, a necessary reform is apprehended to be not far distant.

16th. Had a solid interview with Elliott, deputy agent of Indian affairs for the British. He is preparing to return to the Indian council at the Rapids. We proposed to him, whether there would be any impropriety in our going with him. To which he replied, as his sentiment, that where the Indians were now assembled was their own council ground, and on a path that was not to be trod in but by warriors: and therefore, it was his opinion, it would not be eligible to move that way at present. We let him know our prospects were, that every assistance from the British government towards negotiating a peace with the Indians, would be afforded. He gave us to understand, the Indians were generally acquainted with our being here, and our views towards them, and hoped, on the return of the Indian embassy, some way would open for our relief. Finding no way to have an opportunity with them collectively, we concluded to write again to the agent, McKee, and also to the Indians; which Elliott assured us should be fully and fairly interpreted to them. With

this we were for the present obliged to rest satisfied in our probationary tribulated allotment. I can truly say, I travailed with many pangs to be delivered, with breathings to Him who alone can help and interpose, when all human aid is utterly unavailing.

It is wheat harvest; the grain is well filled; but in many places it is much injured by a kind of smut, or blast. The grain is as large as good wheat, but appears of a dusky colour; and being bruised, or cut in two, the contents are like soot, black and dusty; sometimes ten blasted ears for one sound one. In divers instances, wheat fields are rendered entirely useless. When one-half, or one-third, or even one-tenth, is smutted wheat, it spoils the whole. The farmer is obliged to wash all his wheat through three or four waters, before it is fit for bread.

17th. No admission being apparent into the Indian country, as the best expedient, we concluded to send by capt. Elliott, Friends' Address, accompanied by a short epistle of our own, to the Indians: also, a letter to col. McKee. We remain daily exercised in a patient, fervent travail, that the Supreme Controller of events may bring to pass his hidden purposes, according to his own sacred determination, to the exaltation of his own great name, in these dark regions of violence, murder, and licentiousness of almost every kind. The awful language of the Most High to a backsliding people formerly, has frequently impressed my mind, as applicable to the inhabitants of these countries, with some few exceptions,—“My soul loathed them, and their souls abhorred me.”

This day a cannon was fired, for the direction of a man supposed to be lost in the woods. It frequent-

ly happens, that people get bewildered in this country, and sometimes lost, especially in cloudy weather. If they go but one mile in the woods, such is the sameness of soil, timber, &c. with no mountains, and few streams to guide them, they frequently take the opposite direction from the settlement, and get into difficulty.

We have lately heard of the arrival of a number of Creek and Cherokee Indians, in the neighbourhood of the Indian council; we fear, with views not friendly to a peaceable accommodation of matters with the western Indians. We have heard hostilities between them and the whites have been renewed to the southward. Great is the opposition, at present, in the earth, to the peaceable kingdom of Christ, our Redeemer: under a sense of which, my spirit bows with intercession, that Israel may abide in their tents, where they will be covered as under the hollow of his divine hand, until his indignation pass over.

18th. I had an interview with capt. George Welbank, who appeared an intelligent, cool, dispassionate man. He came with a detachment of Cherokee and Creek Indians, from their towns in the southern territory, he says, more than a thousand miles from hence in a straight line; and that they were ninety days on their journey. His principal business appeared to be with col. England, who immediately gave orders for the sloop *Felicity* to sail, with capt. Welbank on board, to Fort Erie, on the way to gov. Simcoe. Large rolls of intelligence were despatched by him, containing, as we supposed, matters of importance. Shortly before, col. England assured our friends, the *Felicity* was detained in the harbour on

purpose to transport us to Sandusky, or Fort Erie, as was most eligible, on the shortest notice.

In conversation with capt. Welbank, on the situation of Indian affairs to the southward, with which he discovered extensive knowledge, he asserted as follows:—That in the year 1791, a treaty was held with the southern Indians, negotiated on behalf of the United States, by a person who made out the articles of the treaty in writing, wherein he inserted the free navigation of the Cherokee river, without their knowledge, and bribed the interpreter to read, ten miles round Nashville village, where forty was inserted. There was a large extent of country, for which the natives required three thousand dollars per annum, but he assured them his power would not permit him to go so high; but for the present, he would insure two thousand dollars, and had no doubt of obtaining the whole sum, by an application to Congress. But in the article it was read, two thousand dollars, where one thousand only was entered. And after all, the survey far exceeded the limits of the land agreed on. Of which grievances, the bloody fellow, Notawasky, Joberson, and Prince of Eastern Airy, came to Congress for redress; they were politely received, and assured justice should take place. On the faith of which, they returned, and made report to their people, who rested satisfied, until their hopes of redress were laid waste, by Spencer and others coming over the dividing ridge, between Holstein and Tennessee rivers, (which was the boundary prescribed) building mills, and picketing forts, on the waters of the Tennessee. Capt. Welbank says the Indians have applied to the Spaniards, and received assurances they shall be supplied with

necessaries. There were some reasons for believing capt. Welbank was now here to negotiate a friendship with the British.

This afternoon, John Elliott and myself walked three or four miles to see sixteen Oneida Indians, amongst whom are several principal men, George Duckwell, Abram, &c. We had some conversation with them on the advantages of peace, and the blessings consequent on being redeemed out of the spirit of war. We also entered a little into the subjects of the existing uneasiness between the Indians and our government. Duckwell, an old man, said, the dispute was about lands west of the Ohio—that he was at a treaty, held at Fort Stanwix, twenty-four years ago, which was a general treaty with all the tribes; and then, the Ohio was agreed to be the boundary. Since which time, he knew of no treaty, where the chiefs who had a right to sell lands, were collected. I find the Six Nations claim a kind of sovereignty over the soil, to a great extent southward. Abram said he married his wife amongst the Wyandots, and some years ago, they made a visit to see her relations, “and I say, brothers, what you always go to war—fight ’mericas? They say—if ’mericas love peace, give us our lands—stay that side ’hio—shake hands—call brothers;—but if ’mericas come take our country, where deer plenty, turkeys, wild cows—good land—then war—always war.” We told him we never went to war, nor our friends, for one hundred and fifty years past—that all men, of all nations, white, red, and black, were our brothers—that one Great Spirit made us all, and was father of us all. They said, “Ouch,” that is good, very good,

19th. Stayed mostly at our lodgings, writing, and conversing with some intelligent travellers. One of them related a conversation between one Frobisher, a merchant in the north-west trade, when at the Grand Portage, west end of Lake Superior, and an old Indian from the north-west; which so much coincided with my own sentiments, that I note it.—Frobisher was inquiring after the curiosities of the northern clime, which the Indian related as far as he had travelled—but added, that younger Indians, who had travelled further north-west, had seen some things still more wonderful. Frobisher asked him if he did not think some parts of their relation untrue? The old Indian replied, “No; it is not possible it can be lies, for they had never seen a white man in their lives!” A severe reflection on Christians, so called!

20th. A woman was interred at the Roman chapel, with the usual pomp, parade, and superstition. Candles burning in clear sunshine—host and holy water displayed—black pall surplices. All the males bare-headed, walking slowly—the sexton going before, the host-bearer next, with a boy on each side carrying lighted candles. Then the priest, in his pontifical robes, with a boy before him, with a brass laver or font, containing the consecrated water, with a brush in it. On each side of the priest were singers, dolefully humming Latin. The priest held a book in his hand, which he sometimes opened, and then sung Latin—several times sprinkling the bier and pall with the water. The singers and boys bearing the candlesticks and laver, as also those who supported the bier, were clothed outside with black. The bells rung frequently. Indeed, the whole pro-

cession appeared solemnly dark. When they came to the grave, which was about two and a half feet deep, in which was much water, the priest took the brush, and added a little more—they laid down the coffin, and for a time dolefully hummed more Latin. During which, the people generally went on their knees. When that was over, the people departed, leaving the sexton to fill up the grave alone. I am told the water rises so near the surface of the ground in these countries, that it is difficult to bury a corpse so deep but what the wolves can scratch down to it. As they often bury without coffins, many who are killed in battle in the woods, and others murdered in cold blood and left above ground, the wolves have devoured them. It is said, these animals have become so fierce and fond of human flesh, that they have attacked, and destroyed people in the woods. The Indians used to call them brothers, and would not kill them; but one or two of their people having been killed by those creatures, the Indians have now proclaimed war against them, killing all they can.

This low, level country, abounds with sugar-trees to such a degree, that if the manufactory of sugar was promoted extensively in this place, it might be ranked among the exports of North America. The Indians who have kettles suitable for the business, make large quantities in the spring of the year, and sell it as low as six-pence per pound, and under. Some have been so fraudulent as to mix sand with it, and when detected, endeavour to justify themselves by the example of the white people mixing water with the rum sold to them. A practice very common amongst the rum sellers, who say rum

hurts them, and the less they get the better for them. It is therefore evident, that in proportion to their intercourse with the whites, they have increased in treachery, fraud, drunkenness, and licentiousness of every kind; and appear, at present, not unlikely to be a rod prepared for our close chastisement.

Being in their nature, or by habit, unfeeling and ferocious, I have often in this journey had my feelings wounded, by seeing old gray-headed women carrying heavy burdens of skins, venison, brooms, matchcoats, &c. with large drops of sweat rolling from their aged brows; when several sprightly young and middle-aged men, went lightly on before them, with nothing to carry but their clothes, tomahawk, and scalping knife dangling by their thigh.

21st. Last evening, I had an account from a man who came from the Glades up the Miami-of-the-lake, that the Creek and Cherokee Indians passed through the Delaware towns there, and produced a piece of tobacco died red, which was received as the declaration of war against the United States—that the white prisoners were very numerous amongst the Indians—and that, at the Rapids, as he came along, he saw a beautiful woman, well dressed, just brought in.

This morning, a number of Oneida Indians came to our lodgings, and informed, that two of their number had just come from the Rapids, and brought tidings, that it was reported there, that Wayne's army was advancing, and large numbers of the Indians had left the Council, to go to defend their towns. They sent to the Oneidas to repair to their assistance, which they were resolved not to comply with. Which determination, we endeavoured to

strengthen, and gave it as our opinion, that the army was not advancing, and would not advance, until the result of the treaty was known. They were very jealous of some deception, which it was hard to remove.

This forenoon, had a solid meeting in the shipyard; after which, a number of the gentlemen of the town came to see us. In a little time one came who announced the Dunmore was at the mouth of the river, with the commissioners on board. Soon after, capt. Gibbons, who was a passenger, came and confirmed the news. We had appointed a meeting at five o'clock, and thought best to endeavour for stillness at present. The afternoon meeting was not so large as the former. It was a season of heavy exercise, through the prevalence of a carnal, lukewarm disposition, in many; yet the great Shepherd was mercifully pleased to baptize a remnant into tenderness of spirit; and the opportunity concluded with solemn supplication.

In the evening we had a visit from — Gibbons, an officer in the regiment of Queen's Rangers. He was present when the Indians opened their embassy to the commissioners, at Navy Hall. About ninety Indians were there. When the governor, Simcoe, was present, capt. Brant spoke as follows: "Gentlemen, you say you are commissioners from the United States; have you power to alter the disputed line between you and us?" They answered, "We have." "Can you tell us the reason of an armed force advancing at this time into our country?" The answer was, "We cannot, neither do we believe it; yet to make all parties satisfied, we will despatch an express immediately to the war office, to stop every

motion of an advance." Then they said, "Come on, we will treat with you." Jasper Parrish was despatched to Philadelphia.

The commissioners not being permitted to come here, were landed at the mouth of the river, and have sent for us.

22nd. Settled with our landlord, Matthew Dolson, for six weeks accommodation, twelve pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence, York money.

23rd. I visited col. England, in company with John Parrish, to confer with him on the most eligible mode of departure from Detroit. He, with his wonted politeness, offered his barge; but gave it as his sentiment, that we had better stay till fifth-day, when the Dunmore would sail, to be at the commissioners' direction. As it was his orders, it was also his inclination to accommodate them all in his power, so we consented to add two days more to our confinement.

We had an interview with several Indians to-day; one of them acknowledged he had killed a Kuhemocomon, and stole three horses this spring. He was a warlike creature, and we could do little with him, for want of an interpreter. I gave him a few hints, a pipe, and a loaf of bread, and he departed.

24th. A solemn morning; my mind composed, and engaged in mental aspirations to the Supreme Controller of events, that he might be pleased to bless our endeavours to promote the glory and honour of his own great name, the advantage of our country, the peace of nations, and of individuals.— In which I beheld, that so long as we dwell only on the surface and superficies of important subjects, in a chain of carnal reasoning, and in the fogs and mists

of earthly wisdom and human policy, we are in danger of making errors in judgment, and of viewing the agents of distress, as the primary cause of evil. But by tracing effects to their causes, and weighing actions in the equal and unalterable scales of justice and truth, I believe we shall centre in prospect with the inspired penman, "Affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground." Is there not a cause? Consider, yea, awfully contemplate the announced decree of Him "who weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance, and meteth out the heavens with a span, and measureth the water of the seas in the hollow of his hand; and before whom, all nations are but as the drop of a bucket,"—"Such measure as ye mete, to you it shall be measured again."

When I view the dreadful scenes of barbarity attendant on the African slave trade, and its train of concurrent circumstances, my soul is almost overwhelmed with discouragement. Judgment is the Lord's, and he surely will repay. Have the Indians burned houses; murdered men, women, and children; betrayed their friends; carried away into captivity and bondage, old and young, male and female; and cruelly burned and tortured others; lurked privily for prey; shot down men at their ploughs, and travellers on the road? Yea, they have; until the rehearsal of many of their horrid scenes of barbarity, has agitated, shocked, and almost convulsed every nerve.

But what shall I say? How are my feelings wounded, on being constrained to contrast these reproaches to humanity, with the conduct of civilized, professing Christian nations! In which I la-

ment, our own government (in most respects, superlatively excellent) is obliged to take a share. Vessels fitted out, commanded by men with hearts callous to the feelings of humanity, and deaf to her cries—which repair to the African coast, stir up war, burn towns, kill, catch, and carry captive, indiscriminately, these poor, and, as to them, altogether unoffending people—bring them to distant and different cities and towns, ringing with alarms for worship, sounding with hymns and psalms from stately temples, where they offer their devotion to the universal Parent, who hath revealed his will in the language of “do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God”—professing to believe in the Divine Lawgiver, whose statute is, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.” Instead whereof, they are sold like beasts, at market; separated, husband from wife, children from parents; without regard to the tenderest ties of natural affection: often put under unfeeling whippers, and cruel taskmasters, where they are frequently starved, or whipt to death—and if they run away, and are caught, they have been hung up without trial or jury. Some who had procured their liberty, have been hunted with horses and dogs, and shot down. While such enormities are in the land, and winked at by the rulers, shall we not lay our mouths in the dust, with this language impressed on our minds, “O Lord! just, and true, and righteous are thy judgments.” I cannot omit remarking the joy we feel, at the escape of a captive white from among the Indians; yet, what a stir when a negro slave attempts his liberty! advertisements printed, and rewards offered to take him, alive or dead.

This afternoon, had a visit from Fransey Baubee, just returned from the Assembly of Upper Canada, where the subject of slavery was closely debated. Gov. Simcoe appeared an advocate on the side of liberty. But so strong was the opposition from motives of interest, they could carry the subject no further, than liberty at twenty-five years of age, to all born after this date. Which account increased my exercise for the lamentable state of mankind. Blood touching blood, mingled with tears of the oppressed, whose groans ascend to the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. While others live on their labours, in voluptuousness, ease, and pride, spending days and nights in revelling, feasting, fiddling, dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and abominable conversation. On which account, I do believe, the earth and its inhabitants will be made to tremble, and the ears of many be made to tingle.

25th. Took an affectionate leave of Matthew Dolson and Hannah, and divers other inhabitants of Detroit, and went on board the Dunmore; col. England, lieut. Henry, ensign Ross, and Edward O'Brian, accompanying us. Many of the officers of the garrison and inhabitants of the place came to the wharf to take leave of us. Among the latter is a very respectable family, of the name of Reynolds. They have an amiable daughter, Margaret. We proceeded down the river, and at one o'clock, arrived at capt. Elliott's house, at the mouth of it. Landed in the colonel's barge, and were gladly received by the commissioners, after about eight weeks absence: the joy was mutual. Capt. Banbury, gen. Cheaping, and lieut. Givenz, were there. They accompanied the commissioners from Niagara.

26th. Walked down the river, one mile and a half, to Simon Girty's, a great white-man-chief among the Wyandots. He was not at home. Returned, and had some agreeable conversation with general Cheaping, on Indian affairs; also concerning women's preaching. He appears to be a judicious man in most respects.

27th. Had a solid conversation with gov. Randolph, capt. Ford, and lieut. Givenz, of the army, on slavery, war, swearing, and debauchery. When men are closely pinched, I find their nearest way to get rid of a difficulty, is a denial of the Scriptures, turn deists, and explain away the weighty parts of the moral law.

28th. First-day. Walked three miles, and were paddled about three miles more in a canoe, by two Indians, to a meeting we had appointed on the Island of Grosseel, where fifty or sixty people collected, who behaved with solid gravity. We were favoured to feel an evidence of the simplicity, purity, and spirituality of the gospel dispensation, which I hope was preached to them in the pure disinterested love thereof. We returned with peaceful minds and thankful hearts. After meeting, a woman said she blushed to tell me, that the preceding evening she joined with others in condemning us as wolves in sheep's clothing; but she was now fully convinced that what she had been seeking abroad amongst forms and shadows, was to be found at home in her own heart; and hoped to retain a thankful remembrance of the mercy vouchsafed to her that day: adding, she did not lament her troubles and exercises, which were great, seeing they had, at length, brought her to the discovery of the way of life. Many others,

I believe, were reached this day. Yet my joy was not of long continuance; for about eight o'clock in the evening, some of our jolly fellow-travellers promoted an Indian dance, in which they joined. The Indians were about twenty in number, with several white men in the ring, and a candle in the centre. Round and round they danced, with ungrateful grunting, barking, and at intervals, screaming and hollowing--the war dance, the peace dance, the scalping dance, &c. which they continued till near midnight, frequently regaling themselves with spirits. This conduct, considering the solemn importance of our business, proved very exercising to my mind, and almost overwhelmed me with discouragement.

29th. I felt heavy, and sorrowful, on account of the last evening's conduct, which I suggested to some of our leading gentlemen. I also testified my disapprobation of such conduct, to the Indians; in which I was joined by a squaw whose husband, by way of apology, told me white men promoted it, and joined them in it. This I was constrained to admit, however degrading. So that upon the whole, contrasting Indians and whites, of all nations, upon the broad scale, our superiority appears but imaginary, and does not exist.

About five o'clock this afternoon, arrived captain Elliott, capt. McKee, Simon Girty, and one Smith, with Ocohongehelas, the great Delaware war chief, and about twenty other Indians from Miami. The Indians encamped opposite to us, on Bay's Long Island. The white men came over to us and informed, that the Indians were much dissatisfied on the report of their deputation to the commissioners at Niagara; and had sent their second embassy, ex-

plicity to declare their intentions in writing, signed by ten nations. This is to be presented to-morrow, and it is apprehended will determine the business.

30th. A deputation of twenty-five Indians came over the river about nine o'clock; when seated, the commissioners seated before them, and we forming an angle at the Indians' right hand, after a solemn pause, an Indian inquired, "Are you ready?" Simon Girty was told to answer, yes. Then a Wyandot chief arose, took off his hat, and thanked the Great Spirit they had met; and spoke some time, introductory to the delivery of a written message: wherein they state, that matters were not fully explained at Niagara; therefore they explicitly require an answer, whether the commissioners have power to make Ohio the boundary; and if so, immediately to remove all the inhabitants off the land, west of the Ohio? To which gen. Lincoln, (after all three had read it, and consulted together,) answered, they would inform them to-morrow. After this, we had a solid conference with the commissioners on the obstacles thrown in the way, and they explained the Niagara conference; which we approved as fair and candid. This demand appeared a new matter, probably suggested by some designing enemy to peace. The letter was signed by ten nations, viz. Delawares, Shawnese, Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas, Mingoes, Munseys, Chipawas, &c.

31st. About nine o'clock the Indians came over the river, among whom, Ocohongehelas, the Delaware war chief, his brother, and Little Jonny, a Shawnese chief, and Carry-all-about, a Wyandot chief, were principal men. We spoke to them, and told them we were their brothers, the Quakers, come

from Philadelphia to see them. They showed joy in their countenances, and shook hands very affectionately. They told us their chiefs who knew us, were almost all dead. We answered them, our fathers who were acquainted with our Indian brothers, were likewise mostly fallen asleep; but notwithstanding, we their children possessed the same love and friendship for the Indians, as our fathers did; and wished it to continue to the end of time. They were very solid, and their countenances marked with the weight and importance of the business. We smoked with them; but perceiving their minds under such pressure and exercise, we did not talk much. They told us, through Girty, that they could not now say much; but would, after they got their answer. They staid about two hours, and received notice from the commissioners, that about five o'clock in the afternoon they should have an answer to the embassy. Then they returned to the island.

This forenoon four British officers came down from the garrison; Crawford, Vandeleur, Ross, and Eddy—also, capt. Thomas, McGee, Baubee, Bunberry, and Givenz. Capt. Caldwell and Thomas Smith dined with us, and waited the return of the Indian deputation. About five o'clock the Indians came. About six, the commissioners came out.—Col. Pickering politely addressed them; then read; and Thomas Jones interpreted it into Seneca, in substance—beginning at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, and recited the terms, that Ohio was then concluded to be the boundary.—Then recited subsequent treaties, beginning at Fort Stanwix, about nine years ago, and one held ninety days after, at one place, another at another, until

he mentioned four different places, and the proceedings of each. That in consequence of these treaties, the United States had sold large tracts of land, which were now settled and largely improved, on the north west side of the Ohio,—therefore, impossible now to make it the boundary: and that, in order to come to a peace, and to understand each other perfectly, by writing was not the way:—which new mode they had adopted, contrary to all former precedents. But he explicitly declared, the United States wished for peace, on the most just and unequivocal terms: which, as the Indians demanded, and no better way opened, were inserted—viz. That what the United States wished for, was, to have all the lands ceded by the treaty at Fort Harmer, confirmed; and a small piece at the Falls of Ohio, for gen. Clarke and his warriors. And, if all that land could not be given up, they were commissioned to draw a new boundary, as might be agreed upon in general council, if that could be obtained; for which, they would advance more money than ever had been advanced at any one treaty as a purchase for Indian lands, with much goods: in addition to which, they would engage to pay an annual subsidy in goods, accommodated to their wants, equal to what they annually procured off the lands by skins and peltry. And further, as formerly some improper ideas had been held up, to their uneasiness, that in consequence of the right of pre-emption, given up by the king of Great Britain, and lately confirmed by lord Dorchester, we considered all the lands east and south of the Mississippi and the Lakes, the property of the United States, without regard to Indian claims. Which right, or pretension of right, we

publicly disclaimed, until fair purchase was made of the Indian owners; and this right of purchase belonged to the United States only. And that these were the leading traits of their commission. This was read by col. Pickering, and interpreted into the Seneca tongue by Thomas Jones. It concluded about dark; when the paper, containing the above sentiments, was delivered to the old Wyandot chief, the English of whose name is, *King of all the Nations*, who said they would reply to it to-morrow afternoon. They then departed to their camp, and we to our tents. It was a cool night; but the exercise of my mind, arising from the importance of the business, was such, that I could hardly forbear trembling. The countenances of the Indians were so sedate, solid, and determined, that notwithstanding the propositions held out appeared to be liberal, and well adapted to the happiness of the Indians, yet, such was their jealousy and want of faith in our government, that I was afraid they would not take. Which apprehensions, with the screams and hollows of an Indian dance near our tents, interrupted my repose for hours.

1st of 8th mo. I awoke about day-break; soon after, I heard ten reports of a rifle one after another, in the Indian camp; which was one for each nation that had signed the written Indian embassy from the council at the Rapids. About eight o'clock fifteen of them came over, and informed they were prepared to speak to the commissioners; who soon seated themselves: when the old king who spoke before, said, "Brothers, we want to be at peace with you; but you tell us you have had treaties there, and there, and there, and purchased lands on this.

side the Ohio: but there has been no treaty since the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, till now. We are the owners of these lands, and we never sold the lands, and they are ours on this side Ohio, and yours on the other side Ohio. You may go home and tell Washington what we speak. We understand all you said to us very well. We expect you understand us." They had Simon Girty for an interpreter. They then arose and stepped off a few perches, and spoke together, when one found he had made a mistake in saying we might go home, and desired the commissioners to wait till they could go to the council, and return with an answer; which they supposed might be accomplished in five days. We felt some willingness to accompany them, but the Indians not requesting it, and others not appearing desirous for it, particularly capt. Elliott and McKee,* who were going along, we had to resign it. However, we forwarded our Address, and a short epistle to the Indians, which we had intended to send from Detroit by capt. Elliott some weeks ago; but the commissioners arriving before he set out, he showed our letters to them, and they thought proper to detain them, presuming we would have an opportunity with them at the general Council, ourselves. After opening and reading them, they encouraged us to send them, though at a late stage of the business. About ten o'clock, the Indians embarked in a boat for the Rapids; and capt. McKee, capt. Elliott, Thomas Smith, and major Hay, set off in another boat for

* See Speech of Kekis, a chief of the Pottawotamies, page 25, of Halliday Jackson's Work on Indian Civilization, lately published in Philadelphia.

the same place. Previous to their setting off, I took an opportunity to impress their minds with the importance of the present critical juncture; as also, how deeply the interests of humanity were involved in it. My mind is often involuntarily impressed with a secret sorrow, and sense of the want of true sincerity, in this painful business; in which I see different schemes and opposite interests are engaged; while the poor natives stand exposed as a mark, to their grievous injury and suffering, under an undue influence.

2nd. Feeling blank and empty, I took a walk into the woods, which are marshy and flat in every place I can find, about a mile from all the lakes and rivers: which space is rich and fertile land. The inland parts of the country abounding with extensive swamps, covered with bushes, coarse grass, rushes, and flags, make harbours for such innumerable flights of blackbirds, as prove very injurious to the production of the neighbouring farms, taking nearly one-third of their small grain, notwithstanding the exertions of gunners, children, &c.

3rd. The Detroit sloop came down the river, bound to Fort Erie, by which I wrote a letter to my dear H. L.

4th. Last night was wet—our tents did not exclude the mist, which wet our blankets and clothes considerably. I wrote a letter to my daughter Mary Miller, and attended a meeting at Simon Girty's in the afternoon; gen. Lincoln, gen. Cheaping, capt. Hamilton, and Givenz, with a number of Indians and Negroes, were present, to our satisfaction.

Many of the officers of the army are very debauched and immoral characters, notwithstanding

their civility and kindness to us. There was a captain much addicted to profane swearing in our company, and who kept a squaw; upon being put in mind of the odiousness of such a course of life, and the danger he stood in, replied, he thought no harm would ensue—that we might think it very strange that he never lay down, drunk or sober, without saying his prayers. Which, strange as it was, he asserted was the case.

5th. The Detroit sloop left this place, loaded with skins and peltry, for Fort Erie. I spent some part of this day on the margin of the river and bay.—Here once stood the town and garrison of Detroit. Multitudes of graves, and many foundations of buildings are yet discoverable. We are told, about seventy years ago the Indians rose, and in one night massacred every person in the place, except the Roman priest, who was concealed by a squaw; and also burnt all the houses. After which, the garrison was built eighteen miles higher up the river, on the opposite side, where it now stands. Since the English have been in possession of Canada, some bold attempts of like nature have been made: one by the noted Indian, Pontiac, on the present Detroit; which, in all human probability would have succeeded, but for some intelligence from a squaw, communicated the evening preceding the intended bloody enterprize, to the commander, who afterwards attempted to dislodge them from the suburbs. This brought on the fray, from whence Bloody Bridge took its name, where three officers and seventy soldiers are reported to have fallen, about a mile and a half above Detroit. When the veteran saw himself the conqueror, it inspired him with ambition to get upon Fighting Is-

land, and attack one of the king's ships, laden with stores for the garrison. As the channel obliged her to come within musket shot of the island, where a large number of Indians had placed themselves, and the ship lay becalmed, they poured in bullets, like hail, against her side, hoping to have sunk her. But finding, after two days experiment, their metal too light to effect their purpose, they took to their canoes, and made to her with tomahawks in hand. Many got on board, notwithstanding the efforts of the few mariners; and when all were expecting death in a few minutes, the captain, a resolute man, gave orders aloud, "Blow up the ship"—he having powder on board; and one of the Indians understanding English, terrified with the horrid orders, gave the alarm quickly to his companions, who instantly jumped off the vessel, some into their canoes, and others into the water. Thus the vessel and many lives were saved.

It is remarkable, that on the same day the before mentioned attempt was made on Detroit by Pontiac, Michilimackinac, St. Josephs, and Presque-Isle garrisons were all attacked, and carried by the Indians.

6th. Last night, the musquetoos exceeded any thing of the kind I ever experienced. Universal complaint was murmured through the camp this morning, by both house, tent, and ship lodgers; by which it appeared the attack was general. This confirmed an account I heard in this country, of a fortification being erected in New Spain in the forepart of the year, which, on account of the incredible number of these insects which infested it, the troops were obliged to abandon.

This day, about three o'clock, whilst a large company of us were dining sumptuously and drinking wine in the parlour, among whom were James Abbott, Sparkman, and lawyer Roe, from Detroit, the awful language of mortality was inscribed in the kitchen, by the decease of a poor, emaciated Pawnee slave, who had been declining some time. Our beloved friend, Joseph Moore, attended him in his last moments, travailing with him in Christian sympathy, I trust to the staying of his mind in the solemn period. Some others, to my astonishment, treated it with as much indifference as if only a caterpillar had been bruised. After dinner, I retired about thirty perches into a garden, where the loud peals of laughter which could easily have been heard half a mile, were truly distressing. I mentioned the solemn subject to one of the British officers, who replied, "One of my brother officers, whom I loved dear as my life, was departing lately; I went to him and bid him farewell; poor fellow, God help you: and returned to drink wine." A few boards being nailed together, about sun-set the same day the corpse was put in, and attended to the grave on the river bank by about sixty persons, including Indians and Negroes, where Joseph Moore preached his funeral sermon; and there was an end of poor Toby's pilgrimage.

7th. A day of close inward exercise, on discovering in several of our company an eye watching for evil, and seeking occasion to vilify and reproach us: and thereby to undervalue and lay waste our testimony to the requisite purity of the gospel—and if possible, to render us as abandoned as themselves.

8th. This day the lake is exceeding rough, which must retard the return of the Indian chiefs, who have now been gone seven days.

This evening two Mohicons arrived from the Indian council, who brought us a letter from captain Hendricks Apaumut, who informs, there is a prospect of a treaty commencing in a very few days.—The messengers state, that sickness and a great mortality prevails in the Indian camp—which took off a worthy man of their nation, named Sam, with whom I was acquainted.

9th. This morning twelve Chipawas, Delawares, and Munseys, called to see us on their return home, having staid till their clothes were mostly in rags, and I believe they were alarmed at the contagion. They report the decease of seventeen Indians, amongst whom were three Chipawa chiefs; and inform, that in consequence of the sickly situation, they were about to move their camp eight miles down the river, near the side of the lake;—which is agreeable to us, as it will be so much nearer, and not so much infested with musquetoos.

10th. Last evening, several of the Indians who arrived in the morning, came to us much disguised with liquor, and wanted more: which not being granted, they became rather sulky, rude, and insolent. One of them, who called himself capt. Hermaunus, laid hold of me, partly in jest, and squeezed me hard, and said, you Quaker, you my brother. One said, his heart was bad, and another said, I am a devil, and my name is devil. Several of our company, best acquainted with Indians, appeared alarmed with apprehensions of danger, and did not go into their tents till near morning. About eight

o'clock, one of them came from the camp, who exhibited a horrid spectacle—hallooing, I am a man—I am a warrior—dashing his fist against a tree, drew out his scalping knife, brandished it through the air with uplifted hand, roaring and making a terrible appearance. At length a sober Indian came and took him away. However, with the trouble of Indians, and a host of musquetoos, I don't know that I slept ten minutes during the night.

We dined this day on a masquenungy, which weighed eighteen pounds; a very delicious fish. It was speared by an Indian. Lake Erie abounds with sturgeons so plentifully, that a couple of men have taken more than a ton weight before breakfast. It is said they originated from four of that species having been put in above the falls, by a French officer; before which, it is reported, none were to be found above the great falls; and when first discovered by the Indians, they were much alarmed.

11th. The Ottoway schooner arrived from Fort Erie, in which came Jasper Parrish, who left Philadelphia 27th of last month. He brought me letters from my beloved brother and sister Dawes, and my daughter Mary, which were very cordial and refreshing; also, the newspapers containing much information.

This afternoon the Chipaway fell down from Detroit, bound for Fort Erie, in which upwards of twenty Oneida Indians returned, being tired out with waiting; some had got sick, and all were ragged and dirty.

This day, had a meeting on Groes-isle, which, on some accounts, was a trying season, but we returned with peaceful minds.

12th. Wrote by way of Fort Pitt, to my dear H. L.; also a letter by lieut. Crawford, to George Dillwyn.

13th. Our commissioners had a visit from capt. Welbank on his return from Navy Hall; he gave them an account, as I have before noted, respecting the treaty with the southern Indians; also mentioned some of McGillivrey's duplicity in Indian affairs; and that the Spanish governor of Pensacola told him he was sorry he had sold off so much land to the United States; and that he could not serve two masters, he must cleave to the one or the other, and he might choose which. It appeared that McGillivrey had proposed to sell to the south branch of the Ocoee river; but the nation at large withstood it, and would give up no further than the north; to which the Creeks unitedly agreed. That divers attempts had been made to settle it, and large clearings were made upon it; but at present, he believed there was not a standing house on the space of three hundred miles in length, and from thirty to seventy in breadth, according to the windings of the river: which space is the bone of contention at present with the Creek nation. Welbank also says, the Spaniards are industriously making interest with the southern Indians, through the agency of one Oliver, a Frenchman: which is a subject of a serious nature to our government.

This afternoon the commissioners sent off two Oneida Indians express to col. McKee; I suppose, to let him know that the tedious process of the business began to feel unpleasant to many of the company. One of the interpreters, Horatio Jones, had lately heard of the decease of his wife, since

he left home, and several of our company were sick.

I spent this evening with capt. Welbank and capt. Bunbury, at capt. Caldwell's, where capt. Welbank talked freely respecting the southern Indians and their confederates; among whom was the governor of Pensacola, and the Indian nations quite to the Mississippi, and the Mountain Leader also, who was considered fully attached to the interest of the United States. All which intelligence, with the present tardy process of our commission, impressed my mind with ideas of horror and distress approaching our extensive frontier, with some doubts, that the speculation in western estates will be disastrous to public tranquillity and peace.

14th. Col. England wrote to capt. Bunbury, to despatch the Dunmore to Fort Erie. Bunbury, having gov. Simcoe's orders in writing to keep her for the convenience and protection of the commissioners, withstood the colonel's orders.

15th. Three Wyandots came to our camp, and reported they have received accounts from the Indian council, that they had at length agreed to invite us to the council. This day my head felt much disordered, occasioned, I supposed, by getting wet in our tent by rain, just as we lay down. William Savery poorly, Jasper Parrish very ill, also Horatio Jones and Joseph Moore complaining.

16th. My mind much tossed—looking towards home—then to the Yearly Meeting. I took a walk down the river, where I erected a seat under the spreading boughs of a buttonwood, of whose branches and broad leaves I made a carpet, and sat myself down in the native splendor of one of the aboriginal

lords of the land. I contemplated the tranquil abode of our first parents in the garden, and felt happy for a moment, which was succeeded by the reflection on Jonah's gourd which it most resembled. I felt a necessity to breathe for the approach of that peaceful and blessed day, when every man shall sit under his own vine and fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid.

This afternoon two young Wyandots arrived.— They looked wild and afraid. One of them was introduced to gen. Lincoln, and handed him a message in writing, importing that the several treaties held at Fort McIntosh, Miami, Muskingum, &c. where lands had been ceded by two or three nations only, were not valid; as they had no right to dispose of lands. And as for the large sums of money proposed to be paid down for the country, they did not want it; and a great many of them did not know the use of it. Therefore, desired it might be applied, with the proposed yearly salary, to the indemnification of the settlers north of the Ohio: and as they supposed they were mostly poor people, or else they would not have settled on disputed lands, that thereby they might be induced to move off; and make the Ohio the boundary,—for it was their land—the country to the westward was filled up—they had no where else to repair to, and they were determined to lay their bones in it. As to the concessions the commissioners proposed to make, by giving money, they did not want it: next, running a new line was but giving them a part of their own land; and as to disclaiming the right to all their country, by virtue of the peace made with the king, their father, they knew they were never conquered, and it could not

be; and as to the right of pre-emption, that the United States, and they only, had a right to purchase Indian lands, south and east of the lakes, they denied the king or the United States ever having any such right. Upon the whole, it was received as a very contemptible speech by the commissioners, and strongly marked as British manufacture. The two Indian messengers had a glass of wine each, and victuals set. They eat but little, got up and slipped away, I believe conscious that the contents of their message would not be pleasing. This soon appeared to be the case, as the baggage was ordered on board the Dunmore immediately—some for safety proposing to sleep on board.

It felt exceeding gloomy to Friends. We got together to see if any thing opened further for us to do; which at present does not appear. Therefore submit the awful subject to the interposition of the Divine Hand, and turn our eyes towards our respective habitations. This evening the two runners despatched three days ago to the Indian council, returned, with only a verbal message, importing that the five nations expected us to come forward, and were moving six miles down the river, to meet us—which appeared a cunning manœuvre of one side or the other. I was somewhat put to a consternation, on hearing gen. Lincoln express, they had received just such an answer as he could have wished. What his meaning was, I dont know.

17th. Several of our company slept on board the Dunmore last night, others hurrying on board this morning. Two runners were despatched with intelligence to the Six Nations. About 11 o'clock we were all on board. My mind felt sorrowful in

reflecting on the important subject of our journey. But on turning my mind to consider if we had omitted any thing we might have done, or what might yet remain to be done, nothing appeared to give uneasiness. I therefore rested satisfied in leaving it to the Lord, who judgeth righteously; and with joy turned mine eye homeward, willing to leave a settlement so greatly dissipated with every species of iniquity, that they appear to live almost without law, morality, or religion.

18th. Prosecuting our voyage on the lake—in the afternoon, we were nearly becalmed—had a season of solid retirement in the cabin, to our comfort and satisfaction, though held in much contempt by others, who were wise and good enough already, in their own eyes.

19th. Very little wind. Our vessel thronged, having thirty-one passengers, exclusive of the ship's crew, and two bears.

20th. Our vessel glided along in the prospect of the Looming-hills, the land claimed and held by the Delaware Indians. This day several little birds came on board our vessel.

21st. This day we could just discover both shores from the middle of the lake. In the evening, had some religious conversation with capt. Ford, to satisfaction.

22nd. One of our sailors laid hold of a rope on the boom of our vessel, which gave way, and he fell over the stern into the water—being a calm time, he recovered by laying hold of a rope thrown out to him.

Through the favour of Divine Providence, we came safe to anchor about one o'clock in the morn-

ing of the 23rd, at Fort Erie. The surf was so high all that day we could not land our baggage.

24th. We settled our accounts with capt. Ford for our passage down Lake Erie. I agreed with the commissioners for a horse, proposing to ride home. This afternoon, Randolph, Pickering, and their servants, crossed the river to the mouth of Buffalo creek, on their way home, proposing to take the route of Albany. William Savery and William Hartshorne agreed to return by water with general Lincoln. Joseph Moore and myself went five miles down the river to lodge at our kind friend, Benjamin Wilson's. John Elliott and John Parrish went up the lake about eight miles to look out some Friends, there settled.

Col. Pickering and gen. Lincoln, through the whole of the journey, so far as I have seen, have conducted as men of religion and sobriety.

25th. Joseph Moore and myself visited the families of Joseph Marsh, Adam Burrell and Joseph Havens. Went to Asa Schooley's to lodge, where we were heartily welcomed and kindly entertained.

26th. Visited the families of John Herriot, John Cutler, and Asa Schooley. Lodged at John Cutler's, who has a family of hopeful children.

27th. Appointed a meeting at Joseph Havens. It was a solid, comfortable season. After which, John Elliott and myself visited Daniel Pound's family, and lodged there.

28th. Visited Joseph Havens, Adam Burrell and Joseph Marsh's families. At the latter we lodged.

29th. Attended an appointed meeting at major Powell's, where many people assembled. It was attended with a solemnity becoming the occasion.

We lodged at the house of the kind and hospitable major Powell.

30th. Preparing for my journey through the wilderness. I lodged at Peter Wintmuts, and Friends at Benjamin Wilson's.

31st. We crossed the river at Windecker's ferry. Waited at Winey's, on Buffalo creek, for Adam Lane, who was intending for the States.

1st of 9th mo. From Winey's, at Buffalo creek, passed through twenty miles of good land—some parts swampy—others high and suitable for wheat—abounding with limestone, sugar trees, bass wood, beech, and shellbark hickory—and about twenty miles of plains. In which distance, are three fine streams for mills, with excellent fall. Two as large as one of the forks of Brandywine, the other as large as Whiteclay creek. In the swamps and timber lands, the path was rendered difficult by hundreds of logs across the way. We met one Indian on the plains, he was pleased to see us—we gave him some refreshment. Came across Red Jacket and his family, in the woods—he was indisposed—John Parrish ministered unto him. In the afternoon, we met two armed men, who looked grim. We pressed forward as far as possible, fearing they might covet one of our horses. A little after sun-set, we turned out our horses at the east end of the great plains, kindled a fire and began to model a tent; when sable clouds obscured the azure sky and made an awful appearance, which was soon succeeded by tremendous peals of thunder, boisterous wind, and heavy rain. Many trees were blown down. We stood exposed to the vehemence of the elements without any shelter,

not daring to stand by trees for fear of lightning. It lasted near three hours, then cleared away.

After this dreadful storm was over, we renewed our fire, which was almost extinguished by the rain, lay down on the wet ground in our wet clothes, contemplated the wondrous beauty of our spangled canopy, and rested some; having rode forty miles the preceding day.

2nd. Resumed our journey through a swampy, dreary wilderness, for above twenty miles, interspersed with some ridges of very rich land. Passed over a fine stream for water works, where the water pitches off a fine limestone rock, six or seven feet at once. The banks are low and rich. Some time after, passed over about ten miles of plains, in which is a curious spring, covering an acre and a half; the fall from it is rapid;—the stream as large as Whiteclay creek. Then passed through an Indian village, on the flats of the Genessee river: which exceeds any land I have seen for richness; the grass, pea vines, and thistles, higher than a man's head on horseback. Thousands of acres fit for mowing—of which a great deal is cut, and makes excellent fodder, the pods and peas contributing thereto. We forded the river, now about as large as Brandywine. This place is thirty miles south of Ontario. Lodged at Berry's, on the bank of the river, having rode thirty-five miles.

3rd. Here we were refreshed, refitted, and prepared to pursue our journey. Here many Indians resort—one old woman, supposed to exceed one hundred years—I admired her gray head. She said she was always kind and good, and always against

quarrels; therefore God had spared her to see the sun a long time.

The land west of Genessee belongs to the Indians. Robert Morris purchased the pre-emption right of the Massachusetts State, for one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

We persevered up the north-west side of the Genessee river, on the ridge, above thousands of acres of rich flats along the river below, abounding with grass as high as a man's head on horse-back; and when cultivated, has produced fifty bushels of wheat per acre. Took up lodging with James Miller, at capt. Williamson's, having rode sixteen miles. The road from Berry's here, is good. We met a number of Indians this day, who appeared friendly. We spoke to them by an interpreter.

4th. Set out early—missed our road ten miles, and had to return. Passed on through the Genessee country about twelve miles, mostly excellent land: then over about twelve miles of mountains, well timbered with chesnut, pine, hemlock, &c.—Then through about seven miles of piney valley to a cabin of bark, where we struck up a fire after dark, thankful to have a house of our own: which was all the comforts we had, having nothing for ourselves or horses to eat.

5th. Collected our horses with some difficulty,—set out soon after day-light, and rode eleven miles to Bath, the seat of captain Williamson, a little village, where about twelve houses have been built this summer. Called at a public house, and got a breakfast of good coffee. Set out after breakfast, and rode over and round the ends of several high, barren mountains, sixteen miles, to the Painted Post; about

which, is abundance of excellent bottom and upland; having mostly kept down the river Cohocton for thirty miles. After refreshing ourselves and feeding our horses, rode along some excellent low lands and crossed the Canistiere river at its junction with the Chemung, or Tioga river, which we rode up thirteen miles, and got to col. Lindley's a little after dark.

6th. Set forward up the river, nine miles, to Roberts's. Then set forward, along a tolerable road, up Tioga for ten or twelve miles further, when we left the river and ascended and descended several rugged hills, for about nine miles, hoping to have got to the Block-house. But the night proved very dark, and the pine timber so high and shady that we could not make out the way. After alighting, and scrabbling for some distance through mud, bushes, &c. we were obliged to give up the idea of reaching the stage. Tied the horses to the bushes, very hungry, as were ourselves also. John Parrish struck fire, which with much difficulty we augmented into a blaze—blundered in the dark for wood, and at length got a comfortable fire. We laid down in our wet blankets and clothes; it having rained most of the preceding day the ground was moist.

7th. Rose early, all in health, and rode about two miles to the Block-house, about thirty-seven miles from col. Lindley's. Breakfasted, and fed our horses well; then resumed our journey, seventeen miles, to Kyle's, on Lycoming creek. The road mountainous and rough. Dined, and rode fourteen miles to Winters's. My mare very lame, having wrenched off two of her shoes in the mountains, forty miles back. Here we got our horses shod, and lodged.

8th. Attended Muncy meeting to our comfort. Dined at Samuel Wallace's, and went to William Ellis's to lodge.

9th. Attended an appointed meeting at Muncy in the forenoon, and one at Samuel Harris's in the afternoon: both large,—favoured seasons.

10th. Had a solemn parting opportunity with Samuel Wallace and William Ellis's families. Left Loyalsock creek behind, crossed Muncy, and rode thirty miles to Northumberland, a town of about thirty houses, pleasantly situated between the north and south branches of Susquehanna, at their junction: near which place we crossed the Chilisquagus.

11th. Visited Hannah Miller, Richardson and wife, Josiah Haines and wife, in the forenoon; to the peace of my mind. Afternoon, had a solid meeting in the Methodists' house.

12th. Set out—crossed the west branch—rode down the west side of the river to Litle's ferry, where I rode the river: having travelled thirty-one miles. Lodged at Michael Bowers's, whose wife is a daughter of Cornelius Lane, and desired her love to Thomas Gibson.

Litle's ferry is twenty miles from Harrisburgh, and about three miles from Peters' mountain.

Hence the company proceeded to their several homes—having been absent on this toilsome, exercising journey, about four months and a half.

JACOB LINDLEY.

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 4.]

THIRD MONTH, 1832.

[VOL. II.]

ABEL THOMAS.

It appears that he was born about the year 1737. His parents were Jacob and Catharine Thomas, who removed, while he was a youth, from Merion to somewhere within the verge of Exeter monthly meeting. In a "Brief Memoir concerning Abel Thomas," of about fifty pages, published by Benjamin and Thomas Kite, Philadelphia, are some interesting particulars of his early life, and subsequent travels. But as the copy-right appears to have been secured, we are precluded from republishing it. It is an excellent little work, though much too brief to give a satisfactory view of the life and writings of this dedicated, honest and simple, but energetic minister of the gospel. It is understood that he left considerable manuscripts, by way of Journal of his life, travels, &c. and that some of his descendants as well as numbers of his friends, regret that so small a part of them were published in the "Brief Memoir."

In some small measure to supply this defect, as the ensuing Letters have recently fallen into the hands of the editors, it is deemed proper to introduce them to the reader's notice. And in order to show the industry of Abel Thomas in fulfilling his "day's work" of religious service in "the day time," the following extracts and memorandums, taken princi-

pally from the Minutes of Exeter monthly meeting, are presented.

In the 3rd month, 1757, Abel Thomas requested a certificate to Kingwood, in West Jersey.

In the 8th month, 1761, he brought a certificate from Burlington monthly meeting to that of Exeter, stating that "his life and conversation was agreeable to our profession, and that his public ministry was to their satisfaction." At the same meeting, he requested a certificate back to Burlington, in order to proceed in marriage with Margaret Younger.

In the 11th month, 1764, he obtained a minute of concurrence from Exeter, to visit some meetings of Chester, and the Western Quarters.

1771, 3rd month. Abel Thomas had a minute granted him to visit some meetings in the Jersies; and in the 11th month of the same year, a certificate of the unity of the monthly meeting with his ministry and concern to visit the meetings in Bucks county and some parts of the Jersies, was furnished him.

1772. In the 1st month, a minute was given him to visit the meetings of Friends on Long Island, and Samuel Hughes accompanied him. In the 8th month following, the unity of the meeting was certified with his concern to visit the meetings of Friends in New England, and thereaway.

Again, in the 7th month, 1773, a certificate was granted him to make a religious visit to Rhode Island, and thereaway, in the work of the ministry.

In the 1st month, 1775, Abel Thomas was set at liberty to visit some meetings in the Western Quarter. Near the close of the same year, he opened a concern to pay a religious visit to the meetings of

Friends to the southward, for aught that appeared to him, as far as Carolina.

1776, in the 11th month, he obtained a minute to visit the meetings of Chester Quarter; in which James Thomas accompanied him. And in the 2nd month, 1777, he had the unity of the monthly meeting to visit the meetings of Friends in West Jersey. It does not appear that he was long from home on this visit, for in the 4th month following, he requested a certificate, in order to proceed in marriage with Ellin Roberts, a member of Uwchlan monthly meeting.

Whether it was at the time of this second marriage, or the first, we are not informed, but probably at this, that he dropped some expressions, as the company sat at dinner, which were taken in writing and are hereinafter inserted.

In the 3rd month, 1778, he was furnished with a certificate of Friends' unity with his concern to visit meetings in New Jersey, and New York governments. In which difficult and perilous journey, his friend James Thomas accompanied him. Some very interesting circumstances of this journey are detailed in the "Brief Memoir."

Not discouraged, or intimidated by the hazards and difficulties he had encountered, occasioned by the revolutionary war, Abel Thomas continued his travels for the exercise of sympathy and love towards his friends; and in the 11th month, 1779, a minute was granted him for that purpose, to visit the meetings constituting Warrington and Fairfax Quarter,—also those of West River Quarter. In this journey, Samuel Hughes was his companion.

In the 12th month, 1780, he obtained a certificate of the unity of his friends, to visit the "meetings of Friends to the southward, as far as Black Water Yearly Meeting, in Virginia, and perhaps into the Carolinas." Amos Lee accompanied him as far as New Garden, in North Carolina; then returned home; by whom Abel sent a written account of his travels and difficulties, to his friends of Exeter monthly meeting, dated the 6th of 5th mo. 1781, and which is inserted in the "Brief Memoir." After the return of Amos Lee, Abel was accompanied by Thomas Winslow, a Friend of Carolina, and they were exposed to extreme perils, by reason of the contending armies,—but through the interposition of Providence their lives were preserved; and Abel, after accomplishing his visit, returned home, where he gave an affecting account of his travels and exercises during the journey; the narratives of which are deeply interesting.

Again, in the 12th month, 1781, he was set at liberty, according to order and discipline, to visit some meetings of Bucks and Salem Quarters; and some, in the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware. His friend, Samuel Hughes, again bore him company in this religious engagement.

In the 4th mo. 1782, a minute was granted him again to visit the meetings of Friends in Chester and the Western Quarters, in which he is acknowledged as "being a minister in good esteem."

Satisfactory certificates were received in the 8th month, this year, from the Quarterly meetings of Cedar Creek and Black Water, in Virginia; and from Symon's Creek and Cane Creek Quarters, in

North Carolina, expressive of unity with the religious labours of Abel Thomas and Amos Lee.

A certificate of unity was furnished Abel Thomas in the 9th month, 1783, to visit the meetings of Friends in New England; which was returned in the 4th month, 1784, with endorsement from the monthly meeting of Falmouth, New England, dated 27th of 12th month last.

In the year 1785, he performed a religious visit to some meetings about Albany, and some parts of the New England governments.

10th month, 1786, he opened a prospect of another visit to some meetings in York government; and in the 12th month, 1787, a like concern to make a religious visit to the Jersies.

There now appears some intermission of his travels far from home, till the 11th month, 1791, when he obtained a certificate of the concurrence of his friends to visit the meetings in Delaware, the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and in Warrington Quarter.

In the 12th month, 1794, a like certificate was furnished him to make a religious visit to Redstone, Fairfax, Hopewell, and thereaway; in which, Amos Lee again accompanied him.

1795—11th month—a minute was granted him to visit Bucks county, Abington Quarter, and the lower parts of Philadelphia Quarter: and near the close of the ensuing year, he was set at liberty to visit the meetings of Chester and the Western Quarters, also Deer Creek and Fawn meetings.

With Amos Lee for a companion, again in 1798, he performed a religious visit to the Southern States. During this journey, he wrote one of the following

Letters to his wife. The other was probably of a later date—but the year is lacking. —It may be inferred that it was during his next religious travel to visit some of the meetings in New York Yearly Meeting, for which a certificate was granted him in the 1st month, 1800. About this time, a number of certificates expressive of satisfaction and unity with his labours of love in the Southern States, were received by Exeter monthly meeting.

In the 5th month, 1801, a certificate of removal was issued for Abel Thomas, Ellin his wife, and their three sons, Abner, Ely, and Joseph, to Monallen monthly meeting, where he resided, when at home, during the remainder of his days.

Being now a member of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, an anecdote is related of him, which may be productive of instruction and caution to those who are disposed to learn by the experience of others.

It is said, that on occasion of attending the Yearly Meeting, Abel concluded to take with him a drove of cattle to sell in Baltimore, during the intervals of the meeting. But, his attention being thus divided between meeting and market, he could neither enjoy the former, nor profit by the latter. His cattle remained on his hands, and on expense, during the meeting—and he declared he would never again attempt to accomplish two such different objects at the same time.

Having no opportunity of examining the records of Monallen monthly meeting, the dates of his subsequent travels cannot be now ascertained. We are, however, assured that he continued his assiduous labours and frequent travels in the work of the ministry, until a short time previous to his close, which

occurred on the 21st of the 3rd month, 1816, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Thus, it appears that a large portion of fifty years of his life was devoted to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of his fellow-creatures. From the brief review thus furnished, who can contemplate the dedicated life of Abel Thomas, in travelling and labouring for the advancement of the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth, and to turn the minds of mankind from darkness to light,—without contrasting his toils and privations, and his unwearied exertions, through perils and dangers, with the ease and affluence in which many spend their time at home, dwelling as in their “ceiled houses!”

But “he had respect unto the recompense of the reward,” and “endured as seeing him who is invisible.” The approbation of his Divine Master was an object continually in his view. With the evidence of his favour, no toils nor hardships seemed of any account to his devoted mind: to use his own language, “hardly worth mentioning,” because of the love he had for Him that had done great things for him.

While the worldling endures toil, and hardship, and fatigue, in the pursuit of perishable riches, in order to “lay up treasures on earth”—while those who are ambitious of the honours and glories of this world, press through dangers and difficulties in order to gain “the praise of men”—while the devotees of pleasure and fashion risk their health, their comfort, their wealth, and their lives, in the pursuit of transitory amusements and sensual gratifications; how much more dignified, rational, and honourable, is the character of Abel Thomas—spending his time,

his money, and the energies of his soul, in going about doing good, and freely publishing the gospel of peace and salvation to the children of men!

Although, in passing through this probationary scene, he rose from obscurity, and had little or no opportunity of either literary or religious instruction in his juvenile years,—though his lot was to labour with his hands for his own support and that of his family,—though he possessed but little of this world's treasures, and knew little of the refinements of polished life,—though he was illiterate and rustic in his manners and appearance, and in his diet and apparel, coarse and economical,—yet, his mind was free: he was a freeman, whom the Truth made free. His soul mounted above the sordid pleasures and pursuits of this world,—he fed on heavenly food, and drank of the waters of life. And now, having patiently endured to the end, who can doubt that “he is numbered with the children of God, and his lot is among the saints?”

Some Expressions delivered by Abel Thomas on the day of his marriage, while they were seated at the dinner table.

I feel a freedom to express my thoughts, as marriages are commonly places of rejoicing: but when we look at what is to come, we find but little room to rejoice in transitory things.

Notwithstanding I have been this day joined in marriage to one whom I do entirely love, I know, so surely as we have been joined in marriage, so surely that hour will come, when we must, by death,

be separated. And it is best for us, and for all, to be industrious in gathering strength, against that time comes: so that the one of us that is first called home may be prepared for so great and final a change; and that the survivor may be fortified with strength, so as to endure, with resignation, the bitter parting with so intimate a friend.

Under one consideration, my friends, my relations, I may this day rejoice,—in that I perceive what I have done hath not offended Him, whom I have loved more than my love who now sits at my right hand. Surely, I am under the strongest obligations to worship and adore that immortal King, who hath been unto me as a shield and buckler, in my lonesome and afflicted pilgrimage. And surely, I may in safety rejoice in the Lord, the God of my salvation; and, with all my might, ascribe unto Him the glory, and the praise of all,—who is worthy forever.

Letter from Abel Thomas to his wife.

Second month 19th, 1799. Just returned from the Tennessee country, towards New Garden.

DEAR ELLIN,—

I received thy letter last first-day three weeks, at Reuben's creek, in South Carolina, about two hundred and forty miles from Charleston, the evening before we started for the Western Territories. We went not to Charleston, but sent for our letters from Bush river, and had near missed them, as we were about forty miles on our way toward the mountains. I was glad to see thy hand-writing,

and to hear that you were well,—and of thy resignation in my absence, under the incumbrances and fatigues of business. As there seems a necessity for it at this time, I hope thy doing what thee can, and resigning, will be the likeliest way to be blessed with success.

I am well in health, and have been so ever since I left home, except six days in Virginia, where I missed two meetings,—and in the western country, but was able to travel. We have travelled on, and prospered in outward travel: but as to travail and exercise of mind, I am often reduced very low; which, I believe, is for my good,—for the more powerful exaltation of Master's name, in myself, and it may be, in some others. But so far I can say, that it is always well with me when I am sensible that Master is near. But so it is, when he hideth his face, my soul is troubled. All my travelling through this wilderness country, so far from home, is so little hardship that I can scarcely give it that name when Master is present. But when he withdraws from me, there is nothing in this world that I can please myself in thinking of. If I look towards you,—there is but little satisfaction in your company in his absence. I cannot rest, neither at home nor abroad, when I am afraid my ways do not please him. I have wondered sometimes, knowing so much of his care and goodness to me, that I could not be easy and resigned in his absence; always rejoicing in hopes of his return. But my own many weaknesses are against me, when I am reduced into a state of suffering, and I inquire deeply into my behaviour before him. I long for that time to come, that I might make my conduct up-

right before him in all things. But, far from that, I often find I have not been so steady in watching as was pleasing to him. My words in conversation, have not been so few and savoury as would be most for his honour. My haste in travelling, in order to get home soon, has hardly been reputable amongst my brethren. And many more weaknesses came against me, in the south. These little weaknesses are hardly noticed by many professors. But these little things are as motes in the eye, that obstruct the sight, they are as little foxes that hinder the growth of the vine. They are as leaks, hardly perceived in a time when we think all is well; but, a leak is wasting the substance, if it be but through a little worm-hole.

As I was hinting at something that befel me in the south—so far as I can describe it in words, I shall let thee know, as a most endeared companion. I perceived for many days, that Master was about to leave me to myself, that I might see what I could do without him; or that I might learn more perfect obedience, in watching, both on the right hand and on the left. When I understood it so, I became more and more afraid,—inquiring deeply into my conduct before him. My many weaknesses appeared before me, as before hinted; and I looked carefully to see what would become of me, if he should withdraw from me, and hear no more of my secret cries.—Under these considerations, I was alarmed: but remembering his loving kindness in times of deep distress, I put on all the strength I could gather, and resolutely determined to hold him fast, by doubling my diligence; but was not able. He was stronger than a lion; he was swifter than an eagle.

I looked after him, with desire; but found myself as a worm, with neither wings to fly, nor feet to run. I was in a great strait to know what to do. But, calmly considering how it was with me, I saw no way but to be still and resigned, and to endeavour to nourish a hope of his return.

But Oh! my great weakness and impatience in waiting! Feeling myself so disabled, and my great enemy roaring against me, it seemed as if a day of great trouble was approaching. I was ready to say as did Agag to Samuel, "Surely the bitterness of death is past." Hope of Master's return was almost lost. I could not hold confidence in the remembrance of past favours; for imagination did work hard against me. However, it appeared to me that I should be of no more use in that country. So I looked towards home, inquiring into my affairs there. And Oh! how grievously my incumbered circumstances gathered all around me, as mountains; so that I could see no way out. I then remembered the bitterness of the wormwood and the gall before I left home, when I had a large draught of it. Then can thee, my dear Ellin, understand, or conceive the weight of my distress, in the south? And, although it was so, I was favoured with a little reason to believe that there is a God so wonderful in power that all things are possible with him—and that he did know what I had need of—and that all power was given to his dear son, my beloved—and that, if I did not love him, I should not be so distressed in his absence,—and that he doth love them that do love him.

My faith began to increase; and when I found it so, I was ready to burst out with vehemence of de-

sire, and with a most lamentable cry, Must I return home without my Beloved? Oh! nay. Rather let me die here, and be buried in a far country, no more to be remembered by the living. But I soon felt that he was coming. The mountains began to skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs, before him; and his Divine presence overshadowed my tabernacle. I was silent, with wondrous admiration. I was afraid, and ashamed of my own littleness and unworthiness, in the presence of him, so wonderful in strength: but I was filled with humble thankfulness. I did think, under such a covering, "the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God they shouted for joy."

And now I think myself as happy, under perfect obedience, as I could wish on this side of eternity,—although far absent from home. "For lo! the winter is past; the rain is over and gone—the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

And, my dear Ellin, I have a great deal to say to thee that I have not time to write. I hope to see thee in a little time; but not much before the middle of the 4th month. My love to thee is great, and to my children all, without knowing which of them I love most. And in proportion will my grief be, if they should, either of them, give way to bad practices, and lose themselves in this deluded world: and more so, in that I have, in the course of my experience, sensibly felt of the powers of the world to come; and the most exceeding excellency of that glory amongst the saints in light. As also, on the other hand, I have sensibly felt of the powers of death and the pains of hell, as it were, amongst the

miserable. Now, if either of my dear children should take wrong courses, how should I who do love them so well, bear the mournful sight? It would be likely to bring down my bald head with sorrow to the grave.

From thy loving husband, and with love to my dear children.

ABEL THOMAS.

Hudson City, 19th of 12th mo.

DEAR ELLIN,

I thought to have wrote to thee before this time, but have had no safe opportunity. I have been amongst the mountains and back inhabitants; where many meetings have been settled since I was this way. Had it not been that Friends were kind to me, I had not been here so soon by many days.—They frequently sent forwards ten or fifteen miles, to lay out meetings for me; the days being so short that I could not ride from one meeting to another in time for them to give notice fully to their friends and neighbours. I had often to ride in the night, in the snow, and in the rain,—dismal roads. I was often sorry for my companions: they appeared, some of them, almost overcome with the cold. My little mare carried me over all, and has not yet thrown me; and I cant find that she is falling away.

When I left home, I had the pleasure of riding alone to the place I intended to stop. I was at Exeter meeting, and also at Hardwich, where Friends had notice. It was a meeting of encouragement to me. Often, in travelling, I had to look back at

my little family whom I had loved, may be, more in deed than in word; laying out what great things I might have done for them if I had staid at home, and felt myself as lightsome and as peaceful as I then was. But, turning to view how I felt some time before I left home, I found myself almost as happy as I could wish, and was seldom troubled with discouraging thoughts.

I arrived there on sixth-day, in the afternoon—the next day I rested. Friends laid out nine meetings for me to attend the next week. I was at Cornwall on first-day; the next at Upper Clove, and the third at Lower Clove: at both these last, silent.—Something befel me here, so different from what I was used to, that I thought it no harm to let thee know, in writing. It was a large meeting,—the house crowded with Friends and others. I perceived a good deal of uneasiness before meeting closed; and when it broke up there were but few Friends gave me their hands. The friend with whom I lodged the night before, had told me that there was a friend who had got his horse shod in order to pilot me to the next meeting. This friend led me to him, and asked him if he was ready to go with me. He answered, he had thought to go; but something had fell in his way so that he could not. It appeared to me as a come off. From this meeting to the one to be held next day, was called twenty-six miles. I went to my creature, and led it towards the people, who appeared to be in haste to get away. I stood with my cane in my hand; and no friend came to me, nor asked me to go home with them. After some time, I saw my old friend T. T. fixing his wagon, to go off. I led my mare to him, and

pleasantly and cheerfully asked him where I should get something for my creature to eat. He told me that I might come with him. I accepted his kindness, and followed him home.

After some time, I began to inquire the way to the meeting. He told me it was a shame to let me go alone, and that he would go with me a little way. I let him know I did not desire him to go; he being old and feeble—that I was used to travel—and if he would give me directions to the great road up the river, I might ride until bed-time, and lodge at a tavern or private house—and that I was not afraid of getting there in time. The old man went with me some miles, and left me at a friend's house. I got up early next morning, and the friend's son went with me. We got there just as the meeting was sitting, and an encouraging meeting to me it was.

I do not blame the Friends. It's likely they thought that I was a poor, unworthy old man. I thought so myself. It is likely they thought I had no business to put them to so much trouble,—not only in attending the meeting, but in spending their time giving notice in the neighbourhood. I thought it was not far from being right, as to myself, in using me so; for I have often been telling thee that Friends sometimes were too fondly kind; and it is more fitting for me to know the feeling of being publicly despised by brethren. It did me no harm; I was not in the least disordered. I compared such treatment with that of too much fondness; the latter much more disagreeable.

Dear Ellin, I have a great deal to say to thee. I feel thee often near to my life. I just say that it is

well with me. I have a good Master—am so well harnessed that I find myself a full match for every obstruction I have to meet with; yet often see myself very little and low, and much spent; yet even in that, I feel myself, in a good degree, happy, in a resigned state,—from under condemnation. I say I feel my yoke is easy, and my burden light. All that I have to go through in the day and in the night,—in the snow and in the rain,—is but little for me to go through, hardly worth mentioning,—for the love I have for Him that hath done great things for me. I feel nearly united to the people, in gospel love; and, from appearance, they to me. Our meetings generally are held in solemn fulness, and break up under such a covering. This, I say, is a great thing, to live near the Truth, where the wicked one cannot touch us, nor endanger our safety. This, I do desire for thee and my children.—It is likely you are almost discouraged, as to the things of this world. Then, let us turn more actively to religious matters. There is never-failing encouragement, if we do all we can to please Him who is able to prosper us, and to bring about matters beyond our expectations.

I have been at forty meetings. From what I have been told, there are sixty before me in New York government and Pennsylvania. It is not likely you will see me home before the last of the second month.

ABEL THOMAS.

MEMORIAL OF MARY BROOKE.

A Memorial of Indian Spring monthly meeting concerning Mary Brooke.

This, our beloved friend, was born near Manoquacy, in Maryland, in the year 1734. She was early deprived of the advantages of parental guardianship and instruction, by the decease of her parents. But, seeking to become acquainted with the teachings of Him who is declared by the royal Psalmist to be the "father of the fatherless," she found him indeed to be her helper; so that when young, she witnessed to her inexpressible comfort many precious seasons of divine communion, particularly between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years; most of which time she resided in North Carolina; where she encountered great difficulties and hardships in getting to the meetings of Friends. These seasons of favour and confirmation, she has been heard, in her advanced age, pathetically and gratefully to commemorate, in her public addresses to the youth.

Returning from Carolina to Manoquacy about her twenty-first year, she very soon afterwards appeared in the ministry, to the satisfaction of her friends; and, in her twenty-fourth year, in company with Sarah Janney, John Hough, and her brother Wm. Matthews, performed an acceptable religious visit to all the families constituting Fairfax monthly meeting, at that time very large, and the members widely dispersed. In the same year, she was married to Roger Brooke, of Sandy Spring particular meeting, in Maryland; where she continued to reside the remainder of her life. For several years

after her marriage, her services in the ministry were confined principally within the limits of the Quarterly meeting to which she belonged; though she occasionally visited some other meetings in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. During the revolutionary war, she experienced many very trying seasons, which she was favoured to sustain, with such a degree of prudence and patient resignation, as obtained the respect and admiration of her friends and acquaintances. Nearly the whole of this period, her lips were sealed as to ministerial service. But after these proving dispensations had passed over, her public appearances again became frequent, to the great satisfaction of her friends. She sometimes visited neighbouring meetings; and in the year 1793, in company with her sister, Margaret Elgar, she visited most of the meetings in Virginia; and shortly after, with the same friend, nearly all the meetings of Friends in New Jersey, and a considerable number in New York and Pennsylvania. She was afterwards engaged in visiting the families of Friends composing Baltimore and Fairfax monthly meetings. The endorsements on the certificates and minutes which she obtained for these purposes, uniformly expressed the satisfaction of the visited, with her gospel labours. As to our knowledge of her qualifications as a minister, we may say that her communications were seldom large; but the matter appropriate, and the delivery thereof accompanied with such life and sweetness, as rendered her appearances both impressive and acceptable. The tenor of her life also demonstrated that she did not place her exclusive reliance on precept and theory, for inculcating the instructive truths of the gospel; but

was careful to adorn the doctrine she delivered, by strict adherence to the practical duties of religion, to support a conduct correspondent with her profession: by which she became a shining example to the Christian traveller.

The influence of religion on her temper, which produced an innocent cheerfulness in her life and conversation, greatly endeared her to a large circle of acquaintance, and, in a particular manner, to her own family; in the management of which, she eminently possessed the desirable talent of so blending authority with endearment, as in a good degree to restrain their wanderings, while she secured their affections: whereby she so entirely obtained the confidence of her offspring, that from their youth even to advanced age, her society was to them an enjoyment, her breast the repository of their secrets, and her advice their recourse in difficulty. We believe few have performed the pilgrimage of life, who have more amply discharged their several duties to their Maker, to their families, and to their fellow-creatures at large, from youth to old age, than this our endeared friend. And having, as we believe, fought the good fight, she has now finished her course, and we doubt not, has received a crown of righteousness. May this consideration prove an incitement to us who are yet permitted to remain on the stage of action, so to imitate her example, "walking by the same rule, and minding the same thing," that we also in the end may look with humble confidence to the same Divine Source for an everlasting reward.

She departed this life, after a short but painful illness, in great resignation, the 25th of the 4th month, 1808, in the seventy-third year of her age;

and was interred in Friends' burying ground, at Sandy Spring, the 26th of the same month.

Signed on behalf of Indian Spring monthly meeting, held at Sandy Spring, 21st of 4th mo., 1809.

ROGER BROOKE, }
DEBORAH THOMAS, } *Clerks.*

Read and approved at Baltimore Quarterly meeting, held 8th of 5th month, 1809, and signed on behalf thereof, by

WILLIAM KENWORTHY, }
ESTHER TOWNSEND, } *Clerks.*



LETTERS FROM EDWARD STABLER.

Alexandria, 5th mo. 11th, 1829.

Perhaps there is not a more delightful office that is connected with social intercourse, than that of communicating to those we love a knowledge of those things by which they may be greatly benefited; nor is there any enjoyment desirable from the same source, more exquisite, than to see *them* partakers of the good things to which their attention has been directed.

Both these enjoyments have been measurably mine, every time I have adverted to the interesting travel which I so recently was a partner in, with thy beloved parents, dear E. H., and thyself. I have not often known a greater plenitude of that precious influence, the native breathings of which are "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men," than during that little journey. And the blessing is enhanced by the *certainty*, that no human energy could have commanded its presence,

nor no human wisdom directed its progress—but, “like the rain which cometh down, and the snow from heaven—to water the earth, and cause it to bring forth seed to the sower and bread to the eater,” we were indebted for the benefaction to that gracious Being who delights to exercise “loving kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth.” The truth of this view is, I think, demonstrated by our utter inability to give ourselves these seasons of light and enjoyment; for if this were practicable, would we not always have them? Or would any of us be induced to suffer the “spirit of heaviness,” when “the garments of praise” were within our reach?

But we are made partakers of the divine bounty, as really as we are of the weaknesses and miseries of the flesh—and we are thereby practically instructed in the distinctive nature of each. And, whether we ever advert to the declaration of the apostle or not, our experience assures us, that “to be carnally-minded is death:” but “to be spiritually-minded is life and peace.” The wants and distresses of human nature are matters of experience, concerning which no rational minds can doubt, any more than they can question the reality of their own existence. And as the effects of these are always ungrateful and offensive, there is an universal effort to get free from them. And this is the origin of all the schemes which are practiced by all the family of mankind.

The wants and distresses which appertain to the natural man, can be supplied and alleviated by natural means. These are the agents which are divinely appointed for these purposes; and we see that they are adequate to accomplish them. Our hunger is always remedied by food, and our thirst by drink—our

bodies are sheltered and protected from cold and tempest by dwellings and clothing—and all other natural agents accomplish the ends for which they were intended, with equal perfection. But food will not satisfy the hunger of the soul, nor will water quench its thirst, nor wash away its defilements.—No natural substance was ever qualified to minister to its peace, or to supply its necessities; but that same gracious Power which created, and gave natural things for natural purposes, has also given spiritual things for spiritual purposes. But alas! how many of us are deluded with the persuasion, that the former can accomplish the purposes of the latter—and therefore practise and depend upon “meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances,” to make us “perfect as pertaining to the conscience.” Nay, many do more weakly than this: they depend upon a *mere credence* of the historical fact of what these things have done for the bodies of persons in past ages,—to do *that* for their souls, which they never did for the souls of any. At the same time, the bountiful and adorable Father of the Universe has never “left himself without a witness,” in the experience of every human soul, not only, that natural things cannot supply the wants of the soul, nor obviate its distresses, but that he has also liberally and graciously given us access to the corn of heaven;—of which that food, and drink, and raiment, are made, that are as effectual to sustain, to satisfy, to protect, and to cherish it,—as the productions of the earth are to perform similar offices to the animal being. And these blessed things are as obvious to our discernment as the fruits of the earth. For we do know the principles of righteousness,

goodness, and truth—that they are not the fruits of the earth—and that they are not perceptible by the natural senses—and that their infallible effects are, to make us righteous, good, and true.

Why then, my precious M., should any of us depend upon man, whose breath is in the nostrils?—or confide in the doctrines of his invention?—or bow to his authority in relation to divine things?—when it is self-evident that none of the efforts of which he is capable, can save us from a sin, or imbue us with a virtue. Especially, when it is equally self-evident that the Father of mercies, the God of all glory, has “opened the windows of heaven,” and has poured out the streams of righteousness, goodness, and truth, to wash away our sins, to satisfy the hunger of our souls—to quench their thirst, and to supply all their wants.

Upon my return home, I found all my dear family well—and the next day, our monthly meeting directed that I should be supplied with a minute, expressive of their concurrence with my prospect of visiting New York, New Jersey, &c.—and if nothing should occur to prevent, I expect to leave home on the afternoon of the 18th instant, and shall probably be in Philadelphia on the 21st. I should be much pleased if your house lay in my way—in which case, I should rejoice to see you again, in order (as the Indians say) to brighten the chain of affection, by which my heart is bound to your beloved family. To all of them, I wish to be affectionately remembered—and to the kind friends of your neighbourhood: and be assured, my dear child, that thou art as much as ever, beloved by thy friend,

EDWARD STABLER.

Alexandria, 10th mo. 1st, 1830.

“There are diversities of gifts,” my dear M. A., “but *the same Spirit*;—differences of administrations, but *the same Lord*;—diversities of operations, but it is *the same God* that worketh all, in all.”—And what an unspeakable favour it is, when we can distinguish between the precious donations and operations of our heavenly Father, and the words or imaginings of the human mind concerning them. From the *former*, which are living and powerful, all sorts of blessings and preservations are experienced. While from the latter, the children of men have never reaped any better harvest than sects and divisions—oppositions and contentions. When we yield ourselves in subjection to the Divine *operations*, which work in us by his *gifts*, and produce the whole form and substance of his *administration*, we are then really conforming to the Divine will. And whether we are in sickness or in health,—at home or abroad,—in affluence or in poverty,—this conformity will occasion the greatest possible good to grow out of our present condition. And though that condition may be compared to a “wilderness and solitary place,” it shall become “glad for us—and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose”—by reason of those blessed influences of creating and redeeming power; which in the beginning constructed this beautiful outward universe out of the “formless void,” which was shrouded in darkness.

If I am not mistaken in my estimate of thy experience, thou hast passed “through much mental tribulation.” Thy state has often appeared like a

wilderness and solitary place—and it has seemed to thy anxious spirit, as if thou wast surrounded only by such tempers and propensities as are natural to the “wild beasts of the desert.” But this experience has taught thee the nature and tendencies of these tempers and propensities—which no eloquence of description could have shown thee without their agency. And as the precious “blood of Christ” (which is his life—and the spring or fountain of all holy tempers and propensities) has been shed abroad in thy heart, thou hast thereby (and there is no other way possible) practically known the *true Author* of thy salvation—the way of his working—and that he has indeed, by the touches of his *love*, removed *hatred* far from thee—and by his *joy*, displaced thy *sorrow*—and that he is capable and disposed, in like manner, and by powers equally effectual, to wash *all* the robes of thy spirit, and make them white and free from all the stains and defilements of unrighteousness.

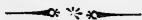
If I have formed a true judgment of thy experience, thou hast abundant cause, my dear M., to “hold fast thy confidence” in the everlasting kindness and sufficiency of that Divine life, which has revealed its wisdom and power in thee;—and thy Saviour has thus far proved himself, by his works, to be both willing and able to accomplish all that remains to be done for thy entire redemption.

I was favoured to finish the work to which I believed myself called last summer, to the entire relief of my own mind, and was restored to my beloved family on the 12th of 8th month. I found them all in health, and prepared to receive their long absent-ed wanderer with their accustomed fulness of affec-

tion—and through Divine mercy, my mind has been so peaceful since my return, that I have been able in a measure, to adopt the language of the Psalmist, “My lines have fallen in pleasant places; I have a goodly heritage.” But what could the world do for me, with all its treasures and glories, without the favour and mercy of Him who can alone give peace? May I, therefore, be enabled by his power to do every thing that he requires, both in acting and suffering, that his will may be accomplished in me, at home and abroad—and in all things.

I can with confidence assure thee, that I should be as much pleased to visit my beloved friends in Jersey, as they would be to receive me, but I wish not to go in my own will, or from selfish motives, both for their sakes and my own. In the meanwhile let us be contented to love one another, as our heavenly Father hath loved us—and then, whether we ever personally meet again or not, all will be well, for we shall reap the rich fruits of love, which will be a feast indeed. Please to present my affectionate remembrance to thy dear parents, and to Friends of your village—and take to thyself a full measure of that love, that always enables me to subscribe myself thy affectionate friend,

EDWARD STABLER.



MEMOIR OF REUBEN HILLIARD.

Reuben Hilliard, formerly of Ancocas, New Jersey, and afterwards of Salem, was born in Burlington county, in 1769. About the time he arrived to the years of maturity, he lost both his parents; who left

but little property behind them. Being the eldest of six or seven children, and affectionately attached to his brothers and sisters, he was exercised in endeavours to procure accommodations for them; and after matters were settled, he engaged as a common labourer with a Friend in Evesham. Having had but little opportunity of acquiring school learning, and being now much occupied with the business of the farm during the summer season, and hauling wood from the pines in the winter, he had little leisure for reading, and not much inclination for mental improvement. He was rather acquiring habits of rusticity, and a taste for amusements that were inconsistent with serious impressions. His vocal powers being unusually fine, he often amused himself and his associates with singing: his manners were agreeable, and his disposition good natured; and avenues were opening whereby he might have been conducted much farther from the paths of rectitude; but, maintaining his general habits of industry, and being at times made sensible of the necessity of more circumspection, he was so preserved that nothing occurred to tarnish his character, of a gross or immoral nature.

An offer presenting, which appeared advantageous, of superintending the farm of one of his aunts, who was a widow, in the neighbourhood of Ancocas, he engaged in the service. About the twenty-fourth year of his age, a militia fine was demanded of him, and declining to pay it, he was committed to prison, where he remained a short time, and was then discharged. It is probable his mind had previously been more deeply engaged in religious considerations than his friends were aware of; for, very shortly

after his release, he appeared in the ministry at Ancocas meeting. It now became evident he was under much mental exercise; his public communications manifested his devotion to the unfoldings of Divine Light, and that he was rapidly advancing in the knowledge of heavenly wisdom. The stability of his deportment, and the regularity of his conduct, evinced an ardent solicitude to fulfil the Divine injunction, with the rehearsal of which he commenced the work of the ministry, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, watch."

He once observed to a friend, that in his youthful career he was repeatedly called from his wanderings; but was not duly attentive to the heavenly admonition, till he became seriously impressed with an idea that if he refused any longer, the day of his visitation would be over, and would not be renewed any more.

In his preaching, his ideas flowed in regular, intelligible language, of a character so elevated, as often to astonish those who knew he had very little school learning, and had not studied the nature or the refinements of the English language. He was frequently so enlarged in the openings of the Divine Spirit and the authority of truth, as to meet the evidence of life in his hearers; and his audience generally were solemnized by his pathetic exhortations, and often baptized into devotional feelings.

The monthly meeting at Burlington, of which he was a member, acknowledged its unity with him as a minister of the gospel, about the year 1795. His concern for the welfare of his fellow-creatures, and the fulfilment of his religious duties, was early manifested by visits to most of the meetings of Friends

in New Jersey, and to some parts of New York and Pennsylvania. He frequently attended funerals, where his testimonies had a powerful influence to draw the minds that were wandering, into serious and solemn considerations—opening the necessity of a fervent concern in the work of salvation, that all might, in the final issue, be enabled to render their accounts with rejoicing, and stand approved “in the most Holy eye-sight.”

About his twenty-ninth year, he rented a farm near Ancocas, where several of his brothers and sisters resided with him in much harmony, under his paternal care, for several years. In his thirty-second year, he married and settled on a farm in Evesham. But shortly after his removal there, he was affected with infirmities which much disqualified him for business for upwards of a year. On his restoration, he engaged on the farm of his friend John Smith, near Burlington. He had long felt a particular attachment to the meeting at Ancocas, and though it was not so convenient for him now, as perhaps two or three others, as to distance, he felt concerned to attend it regularly; being often engaged therein to urge upon the attention of his friends and hearers, the necessity of doing their day's work in the day time of Divine illumination, and that they might know the gospel of Christ to be the power of God unto salvation.

In 1804, he removed to Old Springfield—and about two years after, upon some offers made to him by his friend John Wister, near Salem, he became a resident in that neighbourhood. To his wife and children he was affectionate, and his exertions for their welfare were unremitted. But finding many

difficulties as a tenant, and apprehending his condition might be improved by a removal to the western country, he made some preparations for the purpose; when he was taken ill, and after a few days departed this life, in a comfortable state of mind, aged near forty-three years.



SARAH WATSON'S NARRATIVE

*Of a Journey from Buckingham, Bucks county,
to Little Britain, in Lancaster county.*

The author of this Narrative, and the Essay following, was an approved minister. She was, for some years, afflicted with a pulmonary complaint, and departed this life the 30th of the 6th month, 1816, in the thirtieth year of her age.

The following observations and reflections, excited by a variety of circumstances and feelings that occurred on a journey, undertaken for the purpose of restoring health,—were written under the pressure of disease, principally with a view of diverting the mind; and are preserved, not for the inspection of the critic, but as a recurrence of gratitude to the great Author and Disposer of events, who

“To our every trial knows,
Its just restraint to give:
Attentive to behold our woes,
And faithful to relieve.”

To the particular friends who were interested in the feelings, and critical health of the writer, they may also afford the satisfaction of knowing that she was treated with kindness, though among strangers; excited more by the want of health, and from a Christian disposition, than from any merits of her own.

S. WATSON.

7th mo. 8th, 1813. Left Winter Green,* under impressions of tender regard for its inhabitants, and an attachment to its beauties, and travelled several miles, indulging in the awful reflection of not returning again, I trust, in resignation to the will of Providence. Seeing "there is mercy in every place," it is of little consequence where nature's closing hour is witnessed, if it be in peace.

Oh! sickness!

"I have known thee long, and I have felt
All that thou hast of sorrow. Many a tear
Has fall'n on my cold cheek; and many a sigh,
Call'd forth by thee, has swell'd my aching breast.
Yet still I bless thee, O thou chast'ning power!
For all I bless thee. Thou hast taught my soul
To rest within itself;—to look beyond
The narrow bounds of time, and fix its hopes
On the sure basis of eternity."

Dined at John Carr's, where the interested feelings of sympathy and of hospitality were manifested, and the impression sweetly felt, that all those who work righteousness shall be accepted, where the earthly distinction of names and sects shall be lost in united harmony. On the road from here to John Shoemaker's, the fields of corn are suffering much for want of care. We were informed that it was owing to the loss of those labourers who had been called to the field of battle; where, instead of being useful in society, they are miserably losing their lives, and spreading destruction in a favoured land. When will the ambition of man be satisfied with human sacrifices?

*The habitation of her father, the late Dr. John Watson, near the west end of Buckingham mountain.

Reached J. Shoemaker's, much fatigued; where every relief was given that kindness could invent: and a wish was felt that the example might not be forgotten to "remember the stranger," seeing that we all may stand in need of the sympathy and care of strangers. After resting here a day, had a pleasant ride to Frankford. Put up at Nathan Harper's; where my mind always enjoys that satisfaction which cannot be communicated by description.—Where nature has rendered agreeable, and religion united in the same baptisms,—feelings are experienced which cannot be conveyed to minds that have not shared them.

Next day, while the family attended meeting, I was entertained, and much interested, in reading the life and religious exercises of T. R. Gates. His sufferings in the early part of his life, excited peculiar sympathy. He is not a member of any religious society, yet appears to be instructed in the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus—and is now travelling in the awful concern of promoting truth in the earth—clothed with humility and love; the true badge of discipleship, wherever it is found.

In the afternoon, rode to Philadelphia, and lodged at Benjamin Kite's.

On meeting here with many endeared friends, the feelings of nature were excited, and the heart acknowledged that the ties of friendship are strong, and not easily broken. The necessity of holding all things in subjection was renewedly felt.

Left the city next morning, and crossed the Schuylkill bridge, which displays usefulness, but not elegance. The day was pleasant, and the languid tone of feeling much revived. My mind was

agreeably entertained in contemplating the beautiful and romantic scenery of nature, so wonderfully calculated to afford innocent enjoyment to those that are disposed to partake of it. Yet how many are there in the world, who, for want of having witnessed emancipation from the fetters and the chains of darkness, are vainly and blindly speculating on the works of nature, and drawing "thence, conclusions of their own."

"Acquaint thyself with God, if thou wouldst taste
His works. Admitted once to his embrace,
Thou shalt perceive that thou wast blind before:
Thine eye shall be instructed, and thine heart,
Made pure, shall relish with Divine delight,
Till then unfelt, what hands Divine have wrought."

COWPER.

In viewing the various habitations of man, the reflection occurred, that though these were strangers to me, yet they were all under the protecting care of their Creator; whose power to save is not limited, but extends to all those that yield obedience to his will.

Called at Darby, and dined with John Hunt and his wife, whom I had seen in Trenton. Were entertained with much freedom: and I was delighted with viewing their garden, the beauty of which, like Solomon's house, exceeded the description that had been given of it. Set out about three in the afternoon and rode five miles. The farmers were industriously employed in reaping plentiful harvests of grain; which are a part of the blessings bestowed by the bountiful Hand. Lodged at John Lewis's; where I saw more food for imagination than I dare

partake of; seeing that all the beauties of nature are transient, and must pass away; while the afflictions of the body require more substantial support.

Next day took leave of the family with a little regret, not expecting soon to meet a face that was familiar. On the road, saw an oven built on a stump, which appeared to answer all the purposes for which an oven is intended. This, though a trifling circumstance, was to me a curiosity; as an instance of the variety of contrivances invented by the mind of man for domestic convenience.

Dined at Nathan Sharpless's. They are valuable friends, (his wife a minister, and a prudent step-mother,) whose quiet, domestic discipline was evident in the manners of their children. No jarring chord appeared to be strung, throughout the family. After resting a few hours, travelled again through a part of the country where the land appeared capable of production, but in many places poorly cultivated.

Lodged at John Talbot's in Chichester; he is an ancient Friend, who, with his companion, appeared to be enjoying the evening of a well-spent life. They were to me an encouraging instance of the possibility of retaining the truth, through all the temptations of an alluring world, to old age. His wife had travelled, in spreading the gospel, through England, Ireland, and Scotland. She entertained us with some enlivening anecdotes of the different manners and appearances of those countries; with some affecting accounts of her laborious services therein. She appears to be a mother in the church, and in the neighbourhood in which she lives.

The next day we rode to Wilmington through a country not very highly improved, but the view of

the river was beautiful, with the sloops skimming on its surface. Put up at William Canby's; a family where peace seems to have built her nest, and religion united in rendering every disposition conformable to domestic harmony; and that charity which is properly termed *love*, appears to preside over all their conversation. In feeling its influence, I remembered the travels of Brissot De Warville, who was so much interested in the manners of the Quakers. Although his views are supposed to have been merely political, producing a wish to establish in his own country the morality, industry, and economy of Friends, unconnected with, and independent of, their religious principles: yet, in making allowance for the eccentric feelings of a Frenchman, I was less disposed to censure his extravagance of description, and more admired his disposition to be pleased with a simplicity of manners, that must have been very different from his own education.

The next day, being recruited in health, attended Wilmington week-day meeting, which was not so large as I expected. Dined at William Poole's, a Friend of interesting manners and disposition. In the afternoon, returned to Wm. Canby's; and the next morning, left Wilmington. My attention was turned to the celebrated windings of the Christiana, and was disappointed in finding that its appearance wore so much the resemblance of art, that the mind almost lost the pleasing reflection of its being natural. Much of the road, for some miles, was decorated with thorn-hedge, which furnished some idea of the appearance of the country in former years, when hedges were more general. Came through

Newport, a village pleasantly situated. Called and dined at the widow Stapler's, in Stanton.

From Stanton, we travelled through a country whose soil and cultivation appeared equally poor—the houses small, and mostly built of logs;—and where we called to inquire the way, the ignorance of the people appeared to be in conformity. Some improvement was evident before we reached John Kinsey's, in the edge of New Garden; where a joy on seeing us was manifested, which is always felt on meeting with old acquaintances, by those who have removed to new neighbourhoods. Spent the time very agreeably with them, under a belief that it was good for them to be there, both in a temporal and spiritual sense. Next morning, left them under feelings of sympathy, and travelled over hills, through an improving country, six miles to Enoch Lewis's, whose companion was from home on account of her health, her disorder being consumptive. My feelings were interested, on seeing her children, who were likely to be deprived of the care of an affectionate parent; but I remembered that Providence had cared for me, when left in the same situation.

Was gratified in seeing E. L., whose physiognomy, agreeable to Lavater's principles, denotes native genius, connected with precision of mind and regularity of ideas; which in most characters of this description are attained by education. Yet I do not wish to judge of human characters from the principles of physiognomy; which, in many respects, may be erroneous, and in their greatest degree of perfection, are not calculated to furnish us with correct knowledge of the disposition which the mind may

have attained through the operation of the principle of truth.

Rode eight miles, where the land appeared good, and mostly well cultivated; though in some instances the fields were producing after their kind, briars and bushes; and the road very stony and hilly. Arrived about six o'clock on seventh-day evening at cousin John Fell's: a neat habitation, where all things appeared in conformity with the principles they are professing. His two daughters were quietly fulfilling the important duties of domestic life; while his sons have not neglected the improvement of their minds, and are willing it should be known by their dress and language, what society they belong to; which is too seldom the case in the present day, with many. A green meadow before the door, with a winding stream of water running through it, was a part of the beauties with which nature had blessed this happy place, that seemed to be a spot where the weary traveller might rest in peace.—Spent our time here in the midst of friendship, where “brothers, sisters, all unite,” until third-day afternoon, when we left them, and proceeded on our journey.

I could not divest my mind of disagreeable sensations, excited by the prospect of landing again among strangers who might not be interested in my situation, till my attention was roused by Passmore's forge, and its rude surrounding mountains—the road bad and stony, which, in a state of debility, was trying to the patience. From this place, for four miles, we saw no fields of grain, nor any appearance that there had been any; and but one small field of corn; a few log houses were thinly scattered,

and the fields overgrown with briars, and from every appearance of the country, it seemed as though its inhabitants might have learned the art of living with very little food. A few ragged mortals were pulling some short flax, who looked as if they had not studied either the law or the gospel. Christian sympathy led me to view them as brethren and fellow-heirs of immortal bliss; who had not been deprived by their Creator, but who had deprived themselves of many of the enjoyments of rational beings.

In the evening we reached George Churchman's, in the edge of Maryland. This venerable and infirm Friend seemed to regret that he had lived to see his country again involved in war. This had once been the habitation of that faithful servant, John Churchman; and I was shown the room where he ended his days. Often, in viewing the late abodes of the faithful, and in endeavouring to find some remains of that spirit which clothed them when here, I have had to remember the language of the angel to Mary: "He is not here. He is risen. Why seek ye the living among the dead?"

The next morning, we again travelled through a country yet more forlorn, where the roads seemed never to have been mended, through pine hills, and wilderness woods, far from the habitations of man—where the owl might build her nest in safety. At length, passed Samuel Carter's, which looked like coming again into the land of the living; and at the end of nine miles, reached John Kinsey's, at Little Britain, on fourth-day afternoon. Looking back over our journey, I was reminded of the land of promise, reserved beyond the wilderness.

Fifth, sixth, and seventh days, rain. Cleared up on seventh-day afternoon, when I enjoyed a pleasant walk on the race-bank, to a place which looked as if nature had designed it for a little retreat from the world; where the contemplative mind might enjoy its own reflections, free from all intrusion, except the sound of the tilt-hammer from the blacksmith's shop.

First-day, attended Eastland meeting, which was small, and the want of greater dedication felt. In the afternoon, rode part of the way, and walked the remainder, to the top of a steep hill; from which we had a delightful view of the windings of the Octoraro, and of some improved farms. After descending from its lofty peak, I had secretly to acknowledge, with gratitude, the increase of health and strength that enabled me to do it. Returned, much fatigued, and slept till tea was ready, where I found every thing as pleasant to the *taste*, as the walk and scenery had been to the sight of the eye.

Second-day, set out in the carriage with father and M. K., and went to Thomas Furniss's, three miles, along a road cut through the woods, which afforded a miniature view of travelling over the stumps in Ohio. Thomas's daughter was busy with a large family, but treated us with kindness. Returned in the evening to John Kinsey's.

On third-day afternoon, Hannah Kinsey and myself went on horseback, about a mile, to Samuel Carter's; whose companion is a mother to all the afflicted,—ever ready to drop a tear of sympathy for the sufferings of humanity. Was much interested in their daughter, whose active genius was visible in her countenance. A thunder shower obliged

us to stay all night. The next day, went to meeting, and returned to John Kinsey's; indisposed, from taking cold, and from the influence of the damp air.

Fifth-day morning, the weather cool and pleasant. H. and A. Kinsey went with us to the Rock Springs; a natural curiosity, appearing to be a composition of pebbles, earth and stone, cemented together by the mineral quality of the water, and formed by time into a rock. On its surface, are four round springs, of the size and form of a pint bowl: these continue to fill through a small hole in the bottom. From hence, we rode four miles through the Scotch Plains, that appear to have been once cultivated, but are not, at the present time, inhabited by any human being, and afford nothing pleasing; as the mind is not gratified, but rather pained, with a view of nature, where the ruins of art are exhibited, and the land has become too poor to support its inhabitants. Dined with Benjamin Cutler and his wife, a young married couple, who appeared to be equally yoked. They accompanied us to the Susquehanna river, at the head of the canal; where I was delighted with a view that my abilities are not sufficient to describe.

Here Susquehanna pours her dashing floods,
That echo in the rude, surrounding woods;
Where rocks tremendous climb the craggy steep,
Whose shatter'd tops bend o'er the awful deep.
The smooth canal, in pleasing silence flows,
No storm can interrupt its calm repose:
No jarring sound within its walls intrude,
Its bolted gates, the dashing waves exclude.
Nature and art, have formed this pleasing view,
To which the mind reluctant bids adieu.

After wearying ourselves with walking on its banks, we carved our names on the smooth bark of a birch, perhaps to remain when we are no more, and rode to Joseph Richardson's, on the banks of the Connewingo. He appears to be a humble and valuable Friend,—has two sons and an amiable daughter at home, whose cultivated minds showed that “learning grew beneath his care.”

This little spot of domestic harmony, they had designated by the name of “Rural Vale.” Their kindness manifested that they had been taught to view mankind, not as mercenary beings, but as brothers that ought to unite in mutual offices of friendship and affection; without that reserve which is imposed on the mind by a selfish principle.

The next day, returned to John Kinsey's, and on seventh-day, set out in the carriage, with father and Mary Kinsey, on a tour through Little Britain.—Dined at Aaron Quinby's; a respectable family, who have many connexions residing in Bucks county. Here we were entertained with the conversation of a learned doctor, who seemed disposed to unravel the fine-spun theories of physiology, materialism, and those researches of the philosophic mind, which lead into many errors, and tend to lessen the importance of the Divine principle of immortality, by blinding the mind to a sense of its own ignorance. He maintained that true humility is the ground in which every Christian virtue must originate and grow. But I fear he is far from being willing to “practise what he taught;” and my mind was impressed with a desire that he might be favoured, experimentally, to support so good a doctrine.

Hence we proceeded through Chesnut Level, a good road, affording an extensive view of a country that appeared capable of much improvement. Arrived in the evening at Jacob Shoemaker's, in Drumore; where we met with T. P. and her mother, from Buckingham; which seemed like being at home. The next day, attended a little indulged meeting, held in a school-house; which, I thought, was not without its share of favour. Dined at David Parry's, and spent the afternoon agreeably in conversation, and in picking blackberries; which are of a larger size, and better taste, than with us.

Next day went to James Hamilton's—dined, and drank tea with them. His large family of daughters were engaged in weaving, and other useful employments, and appeared to enjoy a satisfaction which the idle do not know. Came in the evening to Jeremiah Brown's. He was from home, but his valuable companion appeared glad to see us. She is one of those whom *nature* has rendered peculiarly agreeable, and the refining *power* of *religion*, extensively *useful*. Her cheerful disposition is an example to those who indulge too much in a dark view of things, which may not always be profitable.

Dined the next day at J. B's., who were all deeply engaged in the cares of this world. Called at Mary Heston's, whose son, a young man, (since deceased,) was suffering in the last stage of a consumption. Their afflicted situation rendering it prudent for us to make but a short stay with them, we proceeded to Joseph Ballance's; where we enjoyed ourselves with agreeable friends till the next day afternoon, when we returned to John Kinsey's, and in the evening, were gratified with the arrival of

his two married daughters and their children, from Baltimore and Gunpowder; who were received by their parents with reciprocal affection.

Fifth-day, spent at J. Kinsey's. Sixth-day afternoon made some visits,—and on seventh-day attended Eastland monthly meeting, which was much favoured;—the Master's presence being felt in all places, by those who seek it. Spent the afternoon in company with many friends, whose society was agreeable.

First-day, went to meeting; which was favoured with that silence which gathers the spirits of those who are not always subject to it.

Second-day. Much indisposed, wherein an unwillingness to suffer was too prevalent. On third-day, recruited. Spent a few hours with P. W. at S. Carter's; not expecting again to see them. In the afternoon, prepared to return homewards.

Fourth-day morning, took leave of John Kinsey's family, under a sensible feeling of that love which unites all those that are made partakers of it. Came seven miles—called and dined at doctor Thomas's. Then proceeded seven miles to Hezekiah Linton's. Till we arrived here, my mind was too much occupied with its own reflections to enjoy the surrounding beauties of nature, or to give a description of the country; but was much pleased with these friends, in whose large family of children were manifested the advantages of a religious education, which they had received *entirely at home*. Their father having also taught them in the different branches of school learning, had preserved an affection and respect among them, that is too often lost by being sent from home for the purpose of improvement;

where the youthful mind, pleased with, or vain of its own acquirements, forgets the source of that true happiness which is derived from the enjoyment of domestic affection. Thus it is, that where the garden of the mind is rightly cultivated, it will blossom, and in time, bear fruit that will reward the parents' care.

On fifth-day morning, travelled again over hills and bad roads, to James Truman's. He and his wife were not at home; but I was much pleased with their little daughters, who seemed desirous of entertaining us in the best manner they could: they invited us to stay longer with them, and manifested a concern for the state of my health, which is not common in children of their age to feel for strangers, unless they have been educated under impressions of general sympathy with all that suffer. This is a part of education too often neglected by parents, to the great disadvantage of their children; who, without this, become by degrees, insensible to the tender feelings of humanity, and indifferent to all that does not immediately concern themselves.

After dining, and resting here awhile, proceeded on the turnpike road four miles, and arrived about five o'clock, at Moses Coates's, in Chester county Valley; a very beautiful and highly improved country. The next day, came four miles, to J. P.'s, a rich Quaker; where I was almost disposed to envy his three daughters the favour they enjoy in a valuable mother: feeling at this time, in a particular manner, the want of such a caretaker; yet not daring to call in question the Wisdom that had deprived me of such a friend; but inclined to centre in thankfulness for the many favours yet dispensed,

Next day, through much suffering from indisposition, reached John Baldwin's, at Downingtown, where the favour was felt of meeting, in affliction, with a mind qualified to feel that sympathy, through the medium of the Master's love, which refreshes the weary pilgrim, without being conveyed by words; and proves the emptiness of all human friendship, and the world's favour, which is ever liable to be sacrificed at the shrine of vanity and ambition. My heart acknowledged that there is in the gospel a precious privilege which those do not know, and which they are incapable of enjoying. After dining, and being detained a few hours by a shower of rain, rode five miles to Isaac Jacobs's, where we concluded to spend "the Sabbath."

From thence proceeded home.

SARAH WATSON.

CONSUMPTION.

It has been observed by physicians, that those young persons who fall victims to a consumption of the lungs, generally possess bright talents and pleasing manners, arising from a delicacy of feeling that may be owing, in part, to a natural conformation of the system, through whose "nice toned tubes" the refined feelings of sensibility flow without obstruction. The following reflections were excited by seeing a sufferer of this description.

How oft the gathering minister of Heaven
Leads its pale victims through the vale of death,
Where no fond hope of life is felt, nor pleasant voice
Is heard: sighs oft escape the painful breast,

And tears unsought for, fill the heavy eye.
'Tis here the pride and stubborn will of man
Become subdued; and here, he learns his poor
Dependant state. His bleeding, fainting soul,
Groans for a Saviour's hand, to heal its wounds,
And bounds in faith, beyond the grasp of sin.
Yet scarce he feels repose. A meteor flame
Lights in his veins a transient glow of health,
And interrupts the purifying stream:
He lapses into life, and owns the ties
That bind poor nature to a world of care.
His manners softened, and his sense refin'd,
He longs for friendship that he never knew.
Not the fallacious "charm that lulls to sleep,"
Or prompts to confidence in *fallen man*;
But the communion pure of *man redeem'd*,
To aid his spirit in its unknown flight.

The gay companions of his healthful hours,
Fraught with false views of life, pass with the gale
That wafts to wealth, to honour, or to fame,
And leave to pine, unconscious of his love,
Him who, erewhile, was zest to all their mirth.
But the soft sister-band forsake him not:
They gladly soothe each poignant deep regret,
Which memory brings to his awakened thought.
His mind, attentive to their care, forgets
Its woes; and sorrow oft resigns its sway
To the poetic numbers of the muse,
Which they select to cheer his pensive hours.
Their tender sympathy imparts relief:
And if their souls have known redeeming love,
With holy zeal they point his views to Heaven,
And teach his heart religion's sacred law.
Patient submission smooths the thorny way,

While faith and hope support his sinking soul,
And lead him safely to the port of rest,
Redeem'd and pure,—prepared to meet his God.

Why then should we repine, when pain, by slow
But sure degrees, “unlocks the prison doors
And sets the captive free;” from anguish, free;
United to the source of every good,
Where sighs no more are heard, and tears are wip'd
From every eye. By the dark veil of self
No more obscur'd, the rays of love unmix'd
Continual shine—and living waters flow,
Whose source eternal fills all space with joy.



Observations of the American Envoy.

After transacting some business with a member of the Society of Friends in London, and about to take his leave, he said, “I admire your Society;—the principle contains all of Christianity that I have any idea of. But I am sorry to see that some of you are losing your badge; and I don't see how you can retain your principles, and forego your *little* peculiarities,—your *marks* of self-denial,—and difference from the spirit of the world. You are lights: the world should come to *you*,—and not you go to the world. You may *gather them*, but they will *scatter you*.”



FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 5.]

FOURTH MONTH, 1832.

[Vol. II.]

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF PETER YARNALL.

After a lapse of more than thirty years since the subject of these Memoirs was removed from works to rewards, it has become difficult to collect a connected account of his walk through life, particularly in his early years. Among the papers left by his widow, there has recently been discovered a number of memorandums and narratives, in his own hand-writing, which may be interesting to those who remember him, and also to such as were not personally acquainted with him, but who may have heard of his labours of love for the benefit of mankind. It has, therefore, been thought proper to introduce them to more public notice by a preliminary sketch of his life and character.

Soon after his decease, a short account was drawn up, entitled, "A testimony of the monthly meeting of Horsham, concerning our beloved friend, Peter Yarnall; who departed this life at his house in Byberry the 20th day of the 2nd month, 1798, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a short illness." In this Testimony, it is stated, that "this, our valued friend, was born in the city of Philadelphia, and was the son of our ancient esteemed friend, Mordecai Yarnall; from whose precepts and example, in the time of his youth, he widely departed." The time of his birth is not mentioned; but from his age being

noted, it must have occurred in or about the year 1753. His natural disposition was active, lively, affectionate, eccentric, and ardent. While a school-boy, he discovered a martial spirit,—so far at least as to procure some small fire-arms, and to assume a warlike attitude among his school-fellows, along the streets, or at their diversions. A circumstance of this character occurred one evening not far from the dwelling house of Israel Pemberton. When Peter was brandishing his weapon, and threatening what he would do, to the terror of some of his milder companions, who begged him to desist—their noise was overheard by Israel, whose authoritative gravity of countenance, when he appeared at the corner of the street, occasioned consternation among the boys, and every one scampered away to avoid his reproof. He was afterwards put to the study of the Latin language, with Robert Proud.

At a proper age, Peter was placed apprentice in the city, to learn the business of a tanner and currier. His first master, however, shortly after declining business, he was placed with a second, in the country. His father also removed from the city and settled at Springfield, in Delaware county, in the latter part of his life.

To trace the wide departure of Peter Yarnall from the precepts and example of his worthy father, involves no pleasing considerations. But, as a review of his wandering, like the prodigal son, as into a far country, may show, what he afterwards had “frequently to declare, of the Lord’s long suffering, tender, and gracious dealings with him,”—so, there may be some encouragement afforded to rightly concerned parents, guardians, and friends,

not to give out, in their labours and endeavours to train up their children in the way they should go, or to reclaim them from the paths of folly, of vice, and of error.

When Peter was about eighteen years of age, he appeared to be religiously thoughtful. An unpleasant circumstance occurred about this time between him and his master—which should have been buried in oblivion, but that a warning-admonition to others may be derived from it. Whatever might have been Peter's boyish foibles and eccentricities, had the master's temper and conduct been influenced by correct principles of prudence and mildness, he might have continued "religiously thoughtful," and have remained more secluded from temptation, at least till the expiration of his term of apprenticeship.

On a trifling occurrence, his master differed with him, and suffered his passion to arise, so that he struck Peter with a whip, and ordered him out of the shop;—at the same time informing him that he should work there no longer. In the evening, he commanded him to deliver up his best suit of clothes, which he did; and his master laid them by in his lodging room, forbidding Peter's taking them without his permission. On first-day following, while the family were gone to meeting, Peter went into the lodging room to get his clothes—but the hired woman requested him not to take them, lest his master should blame her for it. He therefore desisted, and left them. Then very affectionately taking his leave of those who were at home, he set out; but had gone only a few rods from the house, when the hired woman called to him, inquiring

where he was going. Peter answered, "To a land flowing with milk and honey;" and desired her not to be troubled about him. It was felt to be a very solemn parting to all that were present.

How far the disgrace of being thus turned out of doors for a trifling fault, (if indeed he was in fault) might have operated on his mind, we can only conjecture by his subsequent conduct. But from what can now be gathered, here appears to be the first or most prominent step to his wide departure from the plainness and simplicity of his paternal education.

The first account of him, after this movement, was, that he had gone to New York or Long Island, and enlisted in the military service. This was soon confirmed by a letter he wrote to his father, which, while it showed that he rather exulted in the enjoyment of liberty, was a source of great anxiety to his tender parent. Peter soon found, that instead of enjoying liberty, he had plunged himself into a state of thralldom and difficulty. This rash act was, indeed, a "wide departure" from the precepts and example of his pious father, and occasioned him "much grief" and painful solicitude:—under the pressure of which, he came from Springfield to Philadelphia, in order to see whether any way might open, or any assistance be had, to get his son released and brought home again. Being in great distress on the occasion, he attended Market Street meeting, and, in a short time, arose with these words, which he feelingly uttered: "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all." While in the city, he interested the sympathetic feelings of his brethren there, and engaged the particular care and attention of his kind

friend, John Pemberton, to this his undutiful son. He then returned to his home at Springfield; and was, shortly after, delivered by death "from all his afflictions" on account of Peter's thus wandering into a far country, literally and mentally. The grief and exercise of Mordecai Yarnall's mind, on account of the misconduct of Peter and another of his sons, with some other trying circumstances, in his declining years, were thought to have hastened his dissolution.

The following letter from John Pemberton, carefully kept by Peter Yarnall through all his deviations and wanderings, is worthy of continued preservation, as a testimony of the writer's paternal care and solicitude in the guardianship of this wild, inconstant youth. It also manifests the goodness of his heart, and the concern by which he was actuated, to cast his "bread upon the waters" of such an unstable mind, as Peter must then have possessed. Nor can we avoid the conclusion, that it was "found after many days," in the return of this prodigal son to the heavenly Father's house,—to the great rejoicing of the worthy John Pemberton, and many more. The letter is thus directed: "For Peter Yarnall, to be forwarded by Henry Haydock, merchant, New York."

Philadelphia, 9th mo. 15th, 1772.

DEAR PETER,—

Yesterday, I received thy letter of 23rd of 8th month; which gave me some satisfaction, to find thou continues so sensible of thy mistep. And I wish thy mind may become so humbled, and thy spirit contrited, that thou may experience greater

degrees of light and favour, after having passed through the righteous judgements of the Lord, because thou hast transgressed his holy laws, and run counter to the convictions of his grace. I much wish to see some one, and indeed *all* the offspring of thy worthy father, tread in his steps, and become ornaments of our holy profession.

Although I have not before acknowledged the receipt of thy two letters, sent me soon after thou got to New York,—yet have not been unmindful of thee; but have written divers letters to our friend Henry Haydock, to promote his using endeavours to obtain thy liberty, provided thou manifested a suitable disposition of mind. He writes me, there is hope of thy being at liberty again, and I wish, if that end is obtained, thou wilt strive, by living under Divine fear, to manifest greater stability; and so make recompense to thy friends for their trouble, by the hopes they may have of thy future well-doing. It's a great mercy thou art brought, in measure, to see thy state and condition; and as thou attends to that which hath visited, thou wilt be brought into a nearer acquaintance with the Truth, and experience that peace, which is not found in a rebellious course.

Thy aged father lay but a few days, in his last illness. I believe his end was hastened by thine and Mordecai's conduct; though he bore his griefs silently. I went to see him the day before his departure. He was sensible, though weak, and in much bodily pain; and it was a satisfaction to him to be assured that some care would be taken about thee and thy brother. All his children, except you two, were there when he died, if I remember right. There were many Friends went from the city to his

burial; and we had a good meeting after his interment. I have no doubt he is centred where "the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling." He was buried at Springfield.

I expect thy brother is released, and on his way hither. I wrote to a friend there, who went from hence; and he made application. Though I expect it will cost me considerable, but if he hereafter does well, I shall count it a favour.

If thou art set at liberty, it will be needful for thee to get a good master. I believe Stacy Potts, at Trenton, will take thee. I spoke to him some time ago, and he seemed willing, unless Friends at New York have a more suitable place for thee; and I hope thou wilt be willing to be advised.

I am, with sincere desires for thy welfare, thy loving friend,

JOHN PEMBERTON.

However Peter Yarnall might have dissembled, or however sincere might have been his sensibility of his "mistep," in the time of his difficulty,—his case excited the tender feelings of his friend John Pemberton, who procured his release at considerable cost. The very circumstance of Peter's preserving the above interesting letter through all his aberrations, shows that the good seed was not wholly smothered in his mind, nor his love and respect for his friend and benefactor, entirely obliterated. But, however discouraging the prospect might be, the sequel of his life abundantly exemplifies the correctness of Solomon's exhortation,—“In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not which

shall prosper, this or that, nor whether they both may not prove alike good."

After Peter's liberation from New York, it appears he complied with the advice of his kind benefactor, and resided with Stacy Potts till about the time of his arriving at the age of twenty-one years. He then went to Germantown, where he pursued the business of a journeyman tanner for a short time. In this situation, he became acquainted with doctor De Benneville, and was frequently in company with his relative, doctor Bond, who, perceiving his inclination and genius for the study of medicine, encouraged him therein. By the patronage and assistance of doctor Bond, he obtained a place as a student in the hospital at Philadelphia, where, according to the testimony of a very respectable aged Friend, whose memory appears to be accurate, it appears, that about the latter end of the year 1775, he received drugs and medicines for that institution, from Townsend Speakman, who delivered them with his own hands, not being above the business of carrier himself.— On one occasion, as Townsend entered Peter's apartment, he found him reading Friends' books, and observed Sewell's History, Barclay's Apology, and some other works of Friends lying on his table, or in his window. From this circumstance, Townsend had hopes that he was becoming more serious and thoughtful. But, whatever of good might, at seasons, be uppermost, his mind was not yet sufficiently humble to bow to the convictions which attended him; or, as the Horsham Testimony says, "to the holy reproofs of the great Shepherd of Israel," by which he was followed.

“In the time of the American Revolution,” says the same Testimony, “he entered the army, where he continued a considerable time.” A brief sketch of most of this part of his life may be gathered from his deposition before a court martial on the 11th of the 5th month, 1780, in a case respecting the treatment of the sick and wounded soldiers, pending before that court. From which it appears, that he acted as a surgeon and surgeon’s mate in the army, from the early part of the year 1776. He first served as mate, and was stationed near Kingsbridge, on the east side of Hudson, or the North river, not far from Fort Washington.

“In the month of December,” says Peter, in his deposition, “I joined doctor Shippen’s department, at Bethlehem. In consequence of an action that happened at Princeton, and the want of surgeons immediately at the army, I left Bethlehem in company with doctor Bond and others, in order to proceed to Morristown, to perform such services as that exigency required.” In this place, he says “the smallpox made its appearance, and a number of the soldiery caught the infection. I believe more than two thousand were inoculated, including the inhabitants.” Here, he was seized with a fever, which confined him to his bed for several weeks.

In the early part of the year 1777, he was sent from the hospital, and joined a corps of light dragoons, as surgeon’s mate; in which he continued till the 9th month of that year. He then solicited again to return to the hospital, as severe riding did not agree with his health. Obtaining leave of absence for a few days, to visit camp, near Schuylkill, he there met with the surgeon-general of the army, and re-

ceived orders to accompany the sick to Reading.— At that place there were nearly two hundred sick and convalescent. To show the state of soldiers, and of his employment,—after a part of these were supposed fit for duty, he says, “The want of clothing rendered it necessary to detain some till they were equipped for a march. Many poor fellows having no shoes, stockings, or blankets, yet recovered as fast as could be expected. Very few among them had a change of linen; for want of which, they swarmed with vermin. Our hospitals were much thinned by the time the wounded arrived from the action at Germantown. We placed the privates in churches, and also in the court-house, powder-house, and Friends’ meeting-house. We generally went into the hospitals about eight or nine o’clock in the morning, and did not close our eyes till the task of dressing their wounds was finished. This series of troubles lasted for several weeks. In the latter end of December, the sick came, in great numbers, to Reading, in open wagons. A short time after, I was ordered to proceed to Ephrata, where about two hundred and fifty men were lodged, without being much crowded—and a disposition of charity prevailed among the (Moravian) brethren.”

“In the latter part of the month of January, 1778, I was taken very ill, and gained permission to go to Reading; at which place I continued till the month of May. I was then ordered to proceed to one of our hospitals at Nottingham. In the month of July following, we broke up the hospital, and I repaired to Trenton, in New Jersey, to wait for further orders; but being in a very poor state of health, I

solicited for a dismissal from the service, which was granted."

In a work published at Harrisburg in the year 1811, entitled, "Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania, within the last sixty years,"—the writer, in allusion to an incident that occurred while the American army was stationed near Kingsbridge, on the North river, has the following paragraph respecting Peter Yarnall.

It appears that two forts had been erected, called Washington and Lee, one on each side the river, in order to prevent the British ships of war from passing up the river. "But the inefficiency of these impediments," say the Memoirs, "was soon evinced by two frigates, that, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed by us with great gallantry. Two other frigates, not long after, passed, in defiance of both batteries."

"The first frigates that passed us, took their station in Tappan Sea, where an attempt was made to set them on fire. It failed, as to the larger vessels, but a tender was destroyed. One of the persons who embarked in this service, as a volunteer, was the surgeon's mate of our regiment;—a singular character, and degenerate son of Mordecai Yarnall, a Quaker preacher. I was amused with his oddities, and sometimes listened to his imitations of his father's manner of preaching, as well as that of many others of the public Friends. Though a temporary apostate from the principles of his forefathers, in which he had been strictly brought up, I never doubted that they had taken root in him; and that, if he was not prematurely cut off, they would vegetate and fructify in due season. Nor was I mistaken.

Many years after, I saw him zealously sustaining his paternal vocation; surrounded by a circle of Friends. He had come to preach in the town in which I resided. I went to hear him; and had the pleasure of taking him home with me to dinner, with several of his attendants; where every thing passed with as much gravity and decorum, as if I had never seen him in any other character. Mr. Yarnall's former profaneness could not but have occurred to him on this occasion; but, whatever might have been his recollections, he dissembled them admirably."

We have no explicit account of the manner in which Peter Yarnall passed the time after his release from the army in the autumn of 1778, till the 2nd month following; though it is altogether probable, that, during this interval, he assiduously prosecuted his medical studies, and prepared himself for examination before the professors in the College of Physicians, at Philadelphia. By the Latin diploma granted him, bearing date the 10th of February, 1779, it appears that he produced a Thesis, and underwent the requisite examination for receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

The next day, being the 11th of 2nd month, 1779, he embarked on board the Delaware, with captain Barry, and others. This vessel was a letter of marque, or privateer; and, with divers others, was bound on a cruising voyage to the West Indies. Of this voyage, Peter kept a Journal, embracing remarks on the wind, weather, sickness, natural history, geography, &c. till the 4th of the 6th month following, when he again landed at Philadelphia.

The original notes which he made of this voyage have probably been destroyed. The transcript found among his papers, and dated in the plain language, though in his own hand-writing, contains no account of any prizes being taken; and yet, it is a fact, that he received a part of the prize money obtained in this excursion,—and which was afterwards a source of much trouble and exercise to his mind, and he made considerable efforts to have it restored to the proper owners.

After his return from the West Indies, it appears that “Peter Yarnall attended the practice of the Pennsylvania hospital, in physic and surgery, during one whole year; and was then appointed apothecary to the institution: the duties of which station he discharged with the strictest attention and fidelity,” as testified by a certificate of the managers of the hospital and six attending physicians, dated the 2nd of 7th month, 1781.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to follow the subject of these memoirs through his devious course, and by comparing it with the principles and practice of a life of humility, self-denial, and Christian simplicity, corresponding with the precepts and example of his worthy father, the Horsham Testimony appears applicable to the case, where it says “he might justly be compared to the prodigal son, who wandered into a far country, and spent his portion in riotous living.”

We purposely pass over many anecdotes of his life, while accoutred with the sword and other habiliments of the martial character. One circumstance, however, is worthy of being noted, as an evidence of the effect of Christian kindness and love. During

Peter's military career, when he was exposed to the contaminating influence of vicious companions, it happened that he was in company with a certain officer who had been formerly a member of the Society of Friends. This officer was in the frequent practice of railing against the Society; and Peter, at times, was inclined to join with him in condemning Friends altogether: but he felt himself restrained from going to such a length, alleging as a reason, that when he met with Samuel Emlen, and two other Friends, they always would speak to him kindly and affectionately.

It was probably during his residence at the Pennsylvania hospital, that he applied to a miniature painter to have his likeness taken. The artist inquired what position he would be placed in; and proposed the attitude of kneeling, as in the act of supplication. To this Peter objected, as being a situation to which he was a stranger. The painter told him he would draw his portrait in no other, as that was an exercise proper for him, at times. This circumstance made a deep impression on his mind; and on relating it to the aforesaid officer, queried with him what he must do. The officer advised him not to associate with Friends; nor read their books, nor the Scriptures. This advice, however, was not in accordance with his present state of mind.

Hitherto it does not appear that any change had taken place in his external appearance, or his customary address. By a reference to his deposition before a court-martial in the 5th mo. 1780, it will be perceived that he did not then use the plain language. But it was not long after this, and while he attended at the hospital, that the subject of using the plain

language took hold of his mind in a very impressive manner. Being appointed to deliver a message to a certain officer in the city, it very forcibly arrested his attention, that in delivering it he must address him in the plain language. The trial was so great that he seemed ready to shrink from the performance of his apprehended duty. He, however, set out on the errand, and walked on, absorbed in deep thought, pondering in his mind how he should gain access, and with what firmness he should act,—when he reached the door; and on knocking, was met by the officer himself. Peter adhered to his impressions of duty, and accosted him in the plain language.—This mode of address from him, struck the officer with surprise and astonishment,—and he stood silent for some time. Thus, in the language of the Hors-ham Testimony, “he was, at length, made willing to deny himself, take up his cross, and to become a fool in the eyes of his former associates.”

This act of dedication and obedience, opened the way for his advancement in the paths of self-denial. He became a diligent attender of Friends’ meetings; and as he yielded to the impressions of Truth, and was faithful to its discoveries,—“after enduring a season of conflict and deep baptism, he was qualified for, and called to, the work of the ministry.” In this work, he first opened his mouth in public testimony at Market Street meeting, on first-day afternoon, at the commencement of the Yearly Meeting in the 9th month, 1780. Sitting far back in the house, he stood up, under much exercise, and delivered that striking testimony of Christ, which, no doubt, he deeply felt,—“Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him shall the Son of

man be ashamed when he shall come in his own glory, and his Father's, and of the holy angels."

Among his early appearances in the ministry, it is stated that on one occasion, he and William Savery, being both young ministers, had something to communicate in that line at Market Street meeting. After which, Nicholas Waln stood up and spoke on that passage of Scripture, "Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices, that I may eat a piece of bread." His testimony on this subject being pretty close, it was accepted by Peter and William as having allusion to them. After meeting, they passed some comparisons of sentiment with each other, under similar feelings of discouragement; but at length concluded to open their minds to Nicholas, by querying whether he alluded to them in his public communication. On mentioning the subject to him, they were entirely relieved from their unpleasant apprehensions, by Nicholas Waln's assuring them that he had unity with their testimonies, and was so far from alluding to them, that he did not even think of them at the time.

Some time after, it appeared there was present at that meeting, a young man who had come to Philadelphia, in order to qualify himself, by study, for the priesthood. But he was so reached and convinced by N. Waln's testimony, that he relinquished his prospects, and returned home.

As Peter had gone through the regular course of study and examination, to become approved as a doctor of physic and surgery, and, having gained experience, as well in the army, as in the station of apothecary to the hospital, he appears to have been thoughtful of establishing himself in business in the

line of his profession, in order to procure a livelihood. For, it is to be observed, that although he shared in the ill-gotten booty of privateering, and therewith purchased a tract of land in New Jersey, yet now, having experienced a thorough change of heart, he entirely relinquished this property; and, having little or no patrimony from his father's estate, it became needful for him to find a suitable situation to follow the practice of medicine.

For this purpose, not long after his first appearances in the ministry, he left the city and resided in the neighbourhood of Concord. Hence, we find his intimate friend, Daniel Offley Jr., directed his letter of 12th month 20th, 1780, to Peter Yarnall, at Concord. See vol. 1, page 279. Peter was, however, occasionally in the city, and attended a meeting at Market Street house in the 2nd month, 1781, where he appeared in vocal supplication. Not long after which, he received a judicious, tender, and instructive letter, from an experienced Elder, which he preserved with care among his papers; being as follows:

London Grove, 2nd mo. 20th, 1781.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—

Feeling a degree of sympathy toward thee, under the exercise which of latter time has attended thy mind, and, I trust, has measurably engaged thee to be anxious about redeeming time that is past and gone,—I have divers times witnessed desires for thy preservation in a state of stability; and that the Divine Hand may be near for thy support, under the provings which may be permitted to attend, for the trial of thy faith, and the advancement of thy

experience in the path of self-denial. I may just inform thee, that my attention was turned more particularly to thy present state, on my being present at the week-day meeting in Market Street, the fifth-day following the late Quarterly meeting in the city; where I heard a voice in supplication, at a considerable distance from the place I sat in. And though I knew not, at the time, whose voice it was, I was afterwards told it was thine. I then felt a degree of sympathy, upon hearing the first sentence uttered, and was willing to believe it was not without the savour of life, and could by no means condemn the motion. On remembering it several times since, I have felt a freedom gently to hint to thee the sense which attended me before thy conclusion; which was, that perhaps it might have been as well to have closed it rather sooner, or with fewer expressions, for that time. I hope thou wilt clearly understand me, in the hint, that I am not censorious about it, but feel great tenderness; yet withal a care that thou, in thy infant state, may be preserved from getting out of, or swimming beyond thy depth in the stream, with which thy acquaintance and experience have been but short; although thy mind has been mercifully turned, I hope, towards the way everlasting.

I have apprehended some danger has attended, and may attend young hands, without great care, in regard of repetitions: public prayer in a congregation being a very awful thing, and He to whom it is addressed, being the Author of infinite purity. I believe there is no occasion of discouragement; but if the mind is sincerely devoted to the merciful Father, to seek for preservation out of every danger

of forward stepping, superfluous expressions, and fleshly mixtures, there will be Divine assistance afforded to contrited souls. So that experience and strength will, from time to time, be enlarged, and a gradual growth witnessed, in a state which is sound, healthy, and safe. That this may truly be thy state, is the sincere desire of thy well-wishing friend,

GEORGE CHURCHMAN.

It has been frequently reported, that the great change which was effected in Peter Yarnall's mind, and subsequent conduct, commenced during a time of very severe illness, remote from his friends and connexions. It has also been believed that he described his state and feelings, at this awful season, in a well written poetic effusion that was published in an Almanac for the year 1781, a short time after his change. In an excursion with a company of young people towards Virginia, he was taken ill near the Susquehanna, and remained there till their return. The recollection of his only surviving sister, goes to confirm the idea of this poetic description being from his pen. The reader may judge of its applicability to his case; being as follows:

“When direful symptoms, big with death,
A wretched sinner seize,
Threat’ning, ere long, to stop his breath,
By some acute disease;

How does amazement then confound
His dull, distracted mind!
For help, he wistly looks around;
But ah! no help can find.

His guilty soul! how is it shock'd
When now, too late, it knows
That boundless mercy won't be mock'd,
Nor always interpose!

If too, the poor, devoted wretch,
By chance, be far from home,
And scarce has time a friend to fetch,
When all these ills are come.

Quite destitute of all relief,
Not one relation near;
How must it aggravate his grief!
And how increase his fear!

E'en outward comforts sometimes fail
A soul immers'd in sin;
Alas! what would such helps avail
When there's no peace within?

For oh! the saddest thing of all,
The most distracting thought,
Is, that his God rejects his call,
And now, too late, is sought.

Mercy (so deep is his despair,)
He hardly dares invoke;
Good God! that desp'rate man should dare
Thy justice to provoke.

For, long provok'd, 'twill, at the last,
Make him, he'll surely find,
Tremble to think of what is past,
And what remains behind.

'Tis thus, when to ourselves we're left
By earth as well as heaven,
And of all succour quite bereft,
Beside all hopes are driven.

This seem'd to be my own sad case,
When suddenly took ill,
And death, methought, came on apace,--
But I am living still!

Still, gracious heaven allows me time
My pardon seal'd to get;
To free my soul from every crime,
Though thousands me beset.

How merciful art thou, my God!
If sinners but repent:
How dreadful, too, thy angry rod,
When man will not relent.

Thou gav'st me life, and oft hast spar'd.
That life, though vilely led;
Though oft my sins thy vengeance dar'd
At once, to strike me dead.

Thy justice might, had'st thou seen fit,
Long since, my guilt can tell,
Have sent me quick into the pit,
The very lowest hell.

But thy dear darling attribute,
Thy *mercy*, Lord, most sweet,
Has waited long for better fruit,
And for repentance meet.

For though a barren tree indeed
May dread the uplifted axe,
Thou wilt not break "a bruised reed,"
Nor quench "the smoking flax."

Oh! may I never more defeat,
Nor e'er again despise,
Thy mercies manifold and great,
Lest they in judgment rise.

Against *me* rise, who have so long
Been treasuring up thy wrath;
But oh! forgive the grievous wrong,
And yet increase my faith.

Lord, let thy terrors now begin,
My soul at length to rouse
From the dull lethargy of sin,
And wake my sleepy vows.

Let holy fear, and ardent love,
My purposes secure;
That they no more perfidious prove,
But ever firm endure.

O fix my poor, unstable heart,
My God! I thee entreat;
That it ne'er act a treach'rous part,—
The prayer I'll still repeat.

In goodness, grant that I, good Lord!
May ever persevere—

To me, poor sinner, help afford;
A suppliant wretch, Oh! hear.

In deed, in word, in thought, no more
May I to vice incline—

To soul and body health restore,
And make me wholly thine."

Whatever might have been the instrumental means, one thing is certain, that the wonderful change produced was through the operation of Divine grace in his heart. And while the mind of the reader dwells with complacency on this view, secretly ascribing the glory to Him who still comes in spirit to seek and to save that which is lost,—it may be further comforted, in relation to another

circumstance connected with the subject of this memoir.

In John Pemberton's letter, before noted, reference is made to the misconduct of Mordecai Yarnall, brother of Peter. By a letter from the former to the latter, bearing date 1st month 1st, 1781, it appears that a change took place in *his* mind also, not far from the time of Peter's conversion. His communication is as follows:

MY DEAR BROTHER,—

I received the letter which thou sent by that worthy young man, Daniel Offley. Since which, I have had my house burnt, with all the bedding, clothing, &c. We scarcely saved any thing, as to clothing, but what we had on. But may I never deem that accidental, or chance, which Infinite Wisdom designs for the good of mankind; but rather, submit to his all-wise determinations in all things.

My dear brother, I do not think myself capable of giving thee any counsel that is better than thou art acquainted with;—but let me say to thee, hold fast that which thou hast experienced to be Truth. And may the God of Truth not spare nor pity thee nor me, until he has purified our hearts by his powerful judgments, mixed with infinite mercy and adorable love! And may the God of our father be our God forever!

Give my kind love to John Pemberton; who has been our father's friend,—and almost unspeakably *our friend*; and as ungratefully have I returned his tender love and care over me.

With love and tender regard, I remain thy affectionate brother,

MORDECAI YARNALL.

In the 12th month, 1780, Peter Yarnall made the following acknowledgment to Uwchlan monthly meeting:

“DEAR FRIENDS,—

Notwithstanding I have been educated, and for some time made profession, with the religious Society of Friends,—yet for want of a strict attention to the teachings of Divine grace, I have so far deviated as to deny, in my life and conversation, the principles of the blessed Truth,—absconding from my master, with whom I was placed as an apprentice to learn a trade, and enlisted myself a soldier in the British army—for which misconduct a testimony was publicly read against me some years since. And, although frequent visitations of Divine love were extended, I continued in a long course of vanity and dissipation. And at the commencement of the present unhappy war, I took an oath of allegiance to one of the contending powers—and, actuated by heat and malice, frequently engaged in a task which was conducive to destroy men’s lives,—contrary to the pure leavening principle of Jesus, who gave his cheek to the smiter, his hair to those that plucked it out, and hid not his face from shame and spitting. Thus pursuing one scene of licentiousness and cruelty after another, and soaring above the Witness which frequently convicted me of sin. Therefore, being in some measure sensible of the reproach brought on Truth by such repeated transgressions, I do hereby sincerely condemn the same, hoping through repentance and amendment of life to be preserved from future snares and entanglements.

I remain your loving friend,

PETER YARNALL.”

Not long after, he made another acknowledgment to the monthly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia for the Southern District, a copy of which is as follows:

“Notwithstanding I, some time since, delivered a paper of acknowledgment to the monthly meeting of Friends at Uwchlan, where I formerly had a right of membership,—yet, as part of my conduct was more generally known in this city, and not particularly mentioned in my offering to that meeting, I have been under a weighty exercise, and my mind drawn to a further declaration, for the clearing of Truth from the iniquity of my conduct in engaging in the station of a surgeon on board of a privateer. In the course of which employment, I became a party in seizing by violence the property of others, and a sharer therein, contrary to the law of righteousness, which directs to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us. I do hereby sincerely condemn the same, fully intending to make restitution to such whom I have thus injured, as far as I may be abilitated.”

After his acknowledgment was accepted by Friends of Uwchlan, his right appears to have been transferred to Philadelphia; and in the 8th month, 1781, a certificate was granted him by the monthly meeting for the Southern District, directed to Concord monthly meeting, where it was received on the 5th of the 9th month following. In the neighbourhood of Concord, Peter followed the business of a physician. He also advanced in his gift of gospel ministry, so as to be owned by his friends and those who had opportunity of hearing him. For it

is stated, that for some time during his early appearances in the ministry, some treated him a little like the Jewish Christians did Paul, when he first went to Jerusalem after his conversion. It is said "they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple." So, as Peter had often, during his wandering into a far country, been wont among the soldiers and others to mimic his father and other preachers,—now, although he had really become one himself, yet some were "afraid of him," lest he should not be sincere.

But his gift made room for him in the minds of his friends. The prejudices against him soon disappeared. The life and power attending his ministry were felt and acknowledged; his example was circumspect, and his conduct and deportment were marked with humility and consistency.

On the 5th of the 6th month, 1782, he was recommended as an approved minister, by Concord monthly meeting. At the same meeting, he requested a certificate to Chester monthly meeting, in order to proceed in marriage with Hannah Sharpless, daughter of Benjamin Sharpless of Middletown. After their marriage, they settled at Concord, where Peter continued to follow the practice of medicine. He also frequently visited neighbouring meetings, in which he was often accompanied by his former fellow apprentice, now his near neighbour and friend, Thomas Marshall.

Nor were his religious services confined to the meetings of his own neighbourhood; for, in the 11th month of this year, he obtained a minute of the unity of his friends with a prospect he opened, of attending the Quarterly meeting at Fairfax, in Vir-

ginia, and some of the meetings thereto belonging. This visit he performed to the satisfaction of Friends, as expressed by their certificates of endorsement, on his return.

We next find him engaged in the 8th mo., 1783, with the concurrence of his friends at home, in performing a religious visit to the Quarterly meetings of Burlington and Bucks. Early in the 9th month, he returned his minute, with information of his having performed the visit to his satisfaction.

After his return from this journey, he remained but a short time at home; for, on the 15th of the 10th month following, a certificate of the unity of his friends was granted him, to make a religious visit to the meetings of Friends on Long Island, and some other parts of New York State; also to some parts of New England. During part of the time, while on Long Island, he travelled in near unity and fellowship with George Dillwyn, who was there on a like concern, and a part of the time he was accompanied by that worthy, self-denying follower of Christ, Joseph Delaplaine, of New York. From this journey he returned in the first mo., 1784, and produced an endorsement from the Quarterly meeting of Nine Partners, in New York State, expressive of their unity with his labours of love amongst them.

In the 5th month following, he attended the General meeting, at Salem; and in the 10th month, he obtained a certificate to attend the General and Quarterly meetings, held at Cecil, in Maryland. Soon after his return, he again set out, with the approbation of his friends, to visit the members of Duck Creek monthly meeting, in the State of Delaware.

In the 2nd month, 1785, he received an invitation from Joseph and Harman Updegraff, Solomon Miller, William Kersey, and Elisha Kirk, to settle in York-town—there being an opening for a physician there, by the removal of doctor Sensenney. After due consideration, this proposal was acceded to, and a certificate for himself, his wife, and son Mordecai, was granted on the 8th of 6th month, 1785, recommending them to Warrington monthly meeting.

During his residence at Concord, Peter Yarnall also attended the Yearly Meetings held in Philadelphia. On one occasion of this kind, when some Friends appeared to hesitate about going, as though they were waiting for greater revelation, Peter seemed surprised, and said, “As for me, I want no stronger revelation than to feel that I have love for the cause of Truth, and love for my friends.”

In the spring of the year 1786, Peter Yarnall went on a religious visit to New England, in company with his friend Elisha Kirk, of York-town, who was also a minister, much esteemed.

Of this journey, he kept some minutes; all of which have been lost or mislaid, except a small fragment, hereinafter inserted. It appears that during their travel together as companions in the work, their prospects of religious service led to different sections of the country, and in obedience thereto, they parted in mutual love and fellowship—Elisha went southward towards Newport, and Peter eastward toward Boston and Maine. Of a part of this journey, the notes preserved by Peter Yarnall state as follows:

“Fifth-day. Was at the meeting for ministers and elders, preceding the Quarterly meeting. We

staid during the several sittings of the Quarter: then proceeded, on the 15th of 7th month, to Uxbridge, and attended their meeting. Dined at the widow Elizabeth Varnum's; and the night following, lodged at Job Scott's. On the 16th, being first-day, went to Mendon. After the meeting there, went to an afternoon meeting at Northbridge. Next morning, went forward toward Boston, which we reached before night, and lodged at John Dean's 18th. Went to Lynn, accompanied by Ebenezer Pope, of Boston. Lodged at Samuel Collins's; and next day was at their week-day meeting. 20th. Was at Salem meeting, and returned to Samuel Collins's next day. 22nd. Was again at Lynn meeting. 23rd. Went to Boston, where I met with Nicholas Waln, and attended meeting there. Next day, accompanied Nicholas to Lynn, and had a meeting there on the 25th; also one at Salem, and lodged at Isaac Hacker's. Then proceeded on to Newbury, and were at that meeting, and at Almsbury in the afternoon.— 30th. Were at Hampton meeting, and in the evening reached Nathan Hoag's, where we lodged.— Next day got to Dover, and in the afternoon were at Kittery. Lodged at James Neal's; and the day following had a meeting at Berwick. Then rode on to Falmouth, and were at meeting there. Lodged at John Winslow's, and next day returned towards Berwick, with Moses Dow for our pilot. Lodged at his house, and on the 5th of 8th month, went to Elijah Jenkins's, the husband of Mehetabel."

As Peter often kept his memorandums on small detached papers, it is no marvel, that in the lapse of time, and divers changes of situation, numbers of them may be lost. In some measure to supply this

defect, and show the state of his "loved partner and family at home," during his absence, the following letter from her may be introduced. To those who know a traveller's heart, the little incidents and account of his infant son, will not be uninteresting.

York-town, 7th mo. 23rd, 1786.

MY DEAR PETER,—

Some time has elapsed since I received a line from thee. The date of thy last is more than a month ago. But I hope you are doing well, and minding your own business; yet, I doubt not that at times when your minds are a little at leisure, you are ruminating on us that are left behind. Thou, my dear, has no cause to be the least uneasy about home, as we are all doing well, which I do esteem as a great favour indeed. I have many times thought, and do believe it to be the case, that things have been made easier, to make up for thy absence; which, I hope, my dear, will be a strength to thee in thy journey.

Thy little son is a fine boy; very obedient and affectionate; often talks of thee, and, I believe, remembers thee perfectly well. Sometimes tells what happened when thee was here, which I am certain nobody told him of. He just now, observing I was writing, and without my saying a word to him about it, said, "send Mordecai's love to my dear father."

But, my dear, thou wilt have need to sympathise with thy dear companion, when you receive these letters; as dear Elisha's will give him a sorrowful account of the indisposition of his family; which is very trying in his absence. His dear wife is in a very poor way. She was loth that her husband

should know any thing of it, till she thought she could not conceal it any longer. I have spent as much of my time with her as I conveniently could. Doctor Morris attends her, and I believe is much concerned that he may help her;—he is very attentive, but says he supposes she thinks he cannot do as much good as doctor Yarnall. I think she is much resigned to her husband's absence, considering her situation.

First-day evening. I have just returned from sitting with dear Ruth. She had her fit to-day; but it was rather lighter.

My dearest, I must once more bid thee farewell; but am in hopes it will not be long that it must be so. Sister joins in dear love to thee and companion.

HANNAH YARNALL.

By a subsequent letter from Elisha Kirk, dated 22nd of 8th month, we learn that he concluded to return homewards on account of the state of his wife and family; but not seeing his way clear to proceed further than New York, waited a few days there, and received encouraging accounts of their recovery from sickness. The next day he set out, and arrived again at Newport, Rhode Island, where he heard of Peter's having passed on homeward.—On which, he wrote him a gentle caution, being apprehensive lest he should have become discouraged, and returned too soon. Expecting his letter to reach Peter in New York, Elisha thus closes his brotherly communication: "If thou art going homeward with peace of mind, go on; and dont let this disturb thee three minutes: but, if not, peace is so valuable an article as to be worth turning about to purchase."

Peter Yarnall, however, went on, and arrived at his home in safety and peace.

After his return from this extensive journey, Peter was "diligent in business;" but his religious concern for the happiness of mankind did not admit of his long continuance at home. He made a number of visits during his residence at York-town, in different parts of Pennsylvania. In the latter end of the year 1789, in company with his friend Jacob Worley, he performed a religious visit to the settlements at Redstone, and some parts of Virginia and Maryland. Of this journey, he kept some minutes, as hereafter noted. In the year 1790, he visited Bucks county: on the way, he attended Abington Quarter in the 8th month, where he appeared in a powerfully reaching testimony, to the quickening of many minds.

In the year 1791, Peter Yarnall removed with his family into the neighbourhood of Horsham meeting, Montgomery county. A certificate for himself, his wife Hannah, and their four minor children, was received from York monthly meeting in the 8th month—and in the 9th month, Peter opened a concern to have some meetings within the limits of the monthly meeting of Horsham, for those not of our religious society. This concern being united with, a number of meetings were appointed, and largely attended, in places and neighbourhoods remote from the meetings of Friends. In these labours, Peter was frequently accompanied by his friend and neighbour, James Simpson.

In the autumn of the following year, Peter Yarnall was set at liberty, in the order of Discipline, to visit the meetings of Friends in Chester, Western,

and Warrington Quarters. And in the ensuing winter, he was engaged in visiting the families of the two branches of Horsham monthly meeting, to the satisfaction of the visited.

Soon after this family visit was accomplished, he opened his prospect of a visit to New York State and New England—and being furnished with certificates of the unity of the monthly and Quarterly meetings, he set out on the 18th of the 5th month, 1793. In this journey, he kept a regular and interesting narrative of his travels and labours of love, which is intended to be published in a future number. He returned near the close of the year—and in the 4th month following, he obtained a minute to attend New York Yearly Meeting, and visit some meetings in New Jersey. Again, in the 11th month, 1794, he was set at liberty to visit the families of Friends of Richland monthly meeting, in Bucks county—in which he was joined by his friend and neighbour, Samuel Gummere, a minister in good esteem. Soon after the conclusion of this visit, he opened a like concern to visit Friends' families at Gwynedd—which was accomplished to satisfaction. And in the 4th month following, with the unity of his friends, he performed a family visit to Friends in Philadelphia.

About the time of this visit, he met with a very close trial, in the decease of his amiable wife, on the 11th of the 4th month, 1795, after a short illness. It now became needful for him to place out his children among his friends, and his only daughter, Rebecca, was accordingly put under the care and tender regard of his friend Hannah Thornton, of Byberry. The others were mostly taken by their near relatives. Thus, Peter was left a lonely widow.

er—yet was his mind supported under these privations and trials. He felt bound to the cause of his heavenly Master, by whom he had had much forgiven, and whom he loved much—and therefore, industriously devoted his time and talents in filling up his measure of duty in the Lord's work and service. His circumstances in life had been far from affluence, demanding his unremitting exertions when at home, for the support of his rising family. As his principal dependance was on his practice as a physician, it will be easy to perceive the difficulties under which he must have laboured, in being so frequently called from home on his religious concerns. Yet, humbly confiding in the care and protection of the Shepherd and Bishop of his soul—he could say, he lacked nothing that was essentially needful.

In less than three weeks after the decease of his wife, he opened a prospect to the monthly meeting, of a concern he felt to visit New York Yearly Meeting, and some meetings in New Jersey—for which purpose a minute of concurrence was granted him. Again, in the 7th month following, he opened a like concern to make a religious visit in New Jersey and Staten Island—which was united with, and he left at liberty to attend thereto as Truth might open the way.

In the 10th month, 1795, a certificate was furnished him, endorsed by Abington Quarter in the beginning of the 11th month, to make a religious visit to the Southern States. He set out on this journey a few days after, and was accompanied by James Emlen, of Delaware county. A brief account of his travels in this extensive tour, being preserved, forms a part of the ensuing narratives. From this visit he returned to his home near Horsham, on the 21st

of the 8th month, 1796, and on the 31st of the same, returned his certificate to the monthly meeting, with an endorsement from Blackwater Yearly Meeting in Virginia.

In the 12th mo., 1796, Peter Yarnall and Hannah Thornton laid their proposals of marriage before Horsham monthly meeting; and on the 15th of the 2nd month, 1797, they were married at Byberry meeting. Martha Routh, from England, and her companion, Lydia Rotch, attended the marriage, and spent some time with the newly-married couple; to one of whom, Martha presented the following card, dated the day previous to the wedding.

“Accept, my beloved friend, this small, simple token, from a fellow-pilgrim, accompanied with much affectionate desire, and religious solicitude, that the same Divine Arm which hath been underneath in past trials, may continue to support in all thy *future exercises*: and that my much valued friend, with whom thou art about to enter into a near and solemn band, may be thy true help-meet *therein*: that, being joined together in the Lord, ye may be made one another’s joy in Him: that you twain becoming one in every undertaking, wisdom may conspicuously build the house, and hew out all her pillars. And may I be preserved to be your companion in the application of the following lines respecting a favoured servant, is the fervent breathing of your sincere friend, M. ROUTH.”

“The steady step, the circumspective fear,
The guarded lips, the jealous self-survey,
The fix’d attention of the internal ear,
That learns to travel on the holy way.”

Byberry, 2nd mo. 14th, 1797.

Peter now settled with his wife at the house which she had previously occupied, being the same in which James Thornton had resided, and where both he and his son James, finished their probationary course. Peter continued to follow the practice of medicine; but was frequently absent, attending neighbouring meetings; and in the 8th month following, he was furnished with a minute to attend Burlington Quarterly meeting. His prospect becoming more extensive, another minute was granted him in the 9th month, and he visited New Jersey more generally.

Having thus given a cursory view of his travels abroad in the work of the ministry, the Horsham Testimony appears in accordance, where it states that he was "zealously engaged to promote the cause of Truth and righteousness,—willing to spend, and be spent in His cause, to whom he often acknowledged his great obligations in plucking him as a brand out of the burning; having frequently in his testimony to declare of the Lord's long-suffering, and gracious dealings with him." A careful perusal of his annexed Journals will further corroborate the truth of the said Testimony, and show that "much of his time was given up in travelling abroad to promote truth and righteousness amongst mankind."

The same Testimony further declares that he was "eminently gifted in the work of the ministry," being "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord and edifying his church;" "yet he was not forward, or hasty in his public appearances, but was concerned to wait for renewed qualifications from time to time." Again, it is stated, that "he frequently had religious meetings appointed amongst those not of our society,

and was often favoured to lift up his voice in the power and authority of Truth, to publish the gospel of salvation, to the awakening of the careless, and to the encouragement of the weary travellers Zionwards; on whom, at times, his doctrine distilled as the dew on the tender herbs."

There are yet surviving witnesses of his living, baptising ministry, who can subscribe to the testimony above quoted, and also to the expressions of James Hamton, in the year 1790, where he says, "A season of renewed visitation under the ministry of Peter Yarnall." Again, "A favoured meeting, under the powerful ministry of Peter Yarnall."

In the ensuing narratives of his travels and gospel labours,—his indefatigable zeal and industry, his ardent love, and his religious concern for the welfare and salvation of all classes of his fellow-creatures,—are obvious. In the social circle, when his mind was at liberty therefor, he was cheerful and communicative, his converse being agreeable and interesting, particularly to young people, in whose affections he largely shared. But there were seasons when his mind seemed absorbed in deep thoughtfulness, or occupied with some subject of intense interest. On such occasions, silence would seal his lips, for a season, though in the midst of company, or when riding on the road with his companions.—His animal spirits also had their ebbings and flowings. When under mental depression, a cup of strong coffee, of which he was very fond at almost any time, frequently produced a reviving, exhilarating effect.

In stature, he was tall and well proportioned; his features were prominent, and he was graceful in his

movements. In manners and conversation, he was mild and entertaining; "being of a meek and courteous disposition, and generally beloved by friends and neighbours." Even when in the army, he manifested much politeness and good breeding, as well as kindness and attention, towards persons of plain and respectable appearance, especially females.

The powers of his memory were uncommonly retentive, and his apprehensions quick and lively.—Hence the anecdotes of his repeating sermons among the soldiery, and thus working on their passions, till many were in tears. Hence also, in those days, on receiving a letter from a distant relative, he opened it, and casting his eye over the contents, hastily put it in his pocket. On being reproached for his want of respect toward his connexion on this occasion, he said he could repeat every word of the letter without again opening it.

As a physician, he was skilful, attentive, and much beloved for his tenderness and assiduity: for he knew how to sympathise with the afflicted, either in body or mind. As a neighbour, he was kind, sociable, and obliging. In the domestic relations, affectionate, steadfast, prudent, and exemplary. In his religious character, perhaps few have stood higher in the estimation of his contemporaries. In meetings, his countenance was solid, and clothed with reverential awe. When he rose to advocate the cause of Truth, it was with solemn dignity in his manner and countenance—humility and meekness conspicuously marked his features. His elocution was, at first, soft and slow; but as he proceeded, life and energy increased—till his whole soul became so completely absorbed in his subject, that he appeared uncon-

scious of his gesticulations, which were considerable. Pathetic entreaty, persuasive love, and powerful appeals to the understanding and the heart, with clear and cogent illustrations of gospel truths, rendered his ministry peculiarly convincing and consolatory. On the parable of the prodigal son, when addressing a similar state of mind in some of his auditory, and associating therewith his own practical experience, his eloquence seemed irresistible; as through him the Divine power reached the convictive witness, and produced penitential tears of contrition in many of his hearers. The Horsham Testimony says truly, that he had “frequently to declare of the Lord’s long-suffering and gracious dealings with him, and to invite the prodigal sons to return to the heavenly Father’s house, where there is bread enough and to spare, (which he had abundantly experienced) and to rest no longer satisfied with feeding upon husks.” Also, in the subjoined poetic testimony, about a dozen lines are peculiarly descriptive on this subject, commencing thus:

But when heaven’s mercy dwelt upon thy tongue, &c.

In drawing towards a close of these Memoirs, we would say, as James Hamton said on another occasion, “These remarks are not penned with a view to exalt the creature—but they are intended to illustrate the surprising efficacy of the holy principle of Truth, when duly attended to, and nurtured in the heart.”

The following Notes of some of his expressions during his last illness, and account of his closing moments, were preserved by his affectionate wife; and though most of them are contained in the Hors-

ham Testimony, yet being reviewed, in connexion with his preceding life of varied changes, may furnish encouragement to diligence in making "our calling and election sure, before we go hence, and are seen of men no more."

"On the 14th of 2nd month, 1798, being fourth of the week, my dear husband, on his way home from meeting, was seized with a chilly fit, and pain over his eyes, which soon extended over his head and down his back. He had also a very sick stomach, with a heavy pain in his breast, which was soon after affected with great heat. In the afternoon, he said, "My dear, I dont know that I ever felt myself more poorly than at this time; but have not seen that I shall not recover of this illness. I feel no anxiety on my own account, but thine, and the children's, and the precious cause of Truth. If my gracious Master has any thing more for me to do, I should be willing to be raised again; but have seen that I should be a man of affliction as long as I am continued. The Lord's will be done."

Some time after, calling me to sit by him, he said, "Heaven is a glorious place, into which I have no doubt of an entrance, if I should be removed at this time. I acknowledge it's awful to think of appearing before the bar of the just Judge: but on looking at it, I feel my mind centred in an uninterrupted quiet." Towards evening, he said he thought of trying to sit up, and have the family to sit together with him; which was his frequent practice, when in usual health.

Having been very ill all night, on fifth-day morning he was several times asked whether he would have a physician sent for; but he did not consent

thereto until the middle of the day, saying, his dependance never had been upon outward physicians: though he believed they sometimes might be a means of giving some temporary relief to the poor body. In the evening, his bodily affliction rather increasing, he said he had been thinking of something which he thought enough to humble every one that rightly considers it, which was that every one's food comes from the hand of God—evidently alluding to our dependant state. He passed another trying night, during which more unfavourable symptoms appeared. His petition was that he might be strengthened to endure his bodily pains with patience.

On sixth-day morning, the physician came to see him. He imparted to him, that his dependance was on the Lord Jesus alone, not on medicine; but submitted to those about him, in taking it. Some time after, as I was sitting by him, he said he had never before, in any sickness, been so easy about company. After a pause, he intimated that the disorder appeared to be making its progress, and it was uncertain how it might terminate, as to a recovery. On discovering that I was affected, he said, "My dear, thou must give me up to the Lord, who certainly will do right. May our dwellings be beside the still waters! May'st thou be enabled to keep there, in the deepest proving seasons. Thou art a handmaid of the Lord's. He hath hitherto been with thee; and he will be with thee, to strengthen and support. I know what I say; and I would say more, but, perhaps thou thinks I have said enough."

Some time after, said, "Oh! the preciousness of the unity of the spirit! I never felt my dear friends

nearer to me, I think, at any time; and I thought I never felt a greater flow of love towards them universally, than when in our meeting last, although I was silent." He several times expressed, it was a good meeting to him.

Seventh-day morning, after a trying night, he revived a little, and said, "My dear, I hope thou wilt be rewarded for thy kind attention towards me, a poor creature." Turning to my son, he said, "Dear James, be an obedient, good boy, and that will be the way for thee to become an honourable man. I love thee as my own child, and have treated thee as such." In the evening he thought himself somewhat better; but had another trying night.

On first-day morning, the 18th, a friend came in to see him. After conversing a little with him, under some difficulty, his breast being much affected, he said, "I have been sensible of many infirmities: but I believe I have an evidence, that my gracious Master has blotted out my transgressions." A few hours after, addressing his daughter, he said, "If I should be taken away now, I am apprehensive I shall go to rest; though I am a poor, weak creature, and have nothing to boast of. I have been concerned for thee, and prayed for thee, since I lay on this sick bed." After recommending obedience and gratitude to her observance, he added, "I desire thou may so live, that the Lord may bless thee: and to walk in his fear is the only way to obtain it."

Speaking of the weight of his disorder, he said, "but we should not call any thing *hard*, dispensed by the Divine Hand." In the night, his difficulty of breathing increased—as also in raising the phlegm—but getting a little relief, he said, "The Lord Jesus

my Saviour, is near, whatever becomes of this poor body: I hope my gracious Master will grant me patience to wait his time."

Some time after said, "O my dear children, love, fear, and serve God." He divers times addressed them, nearly after this manner, when coming to speak to him: "Now, dear children, you see the need of preparing for such a time as this. It would be miserable indeed, if I did not feel an easy mind." At another time, calling them by name, "James and Rebecca, my dear children, remember the many religious opportunities we have had together; may they be unto you as "bread cast upon the waters."

"Oh! the goodness of the blessed Jesus!" was often heard to proceed from his lips. He also frequently appeared to be engaged in fervent supplication, when very little could be understood, but "Lord, thy will, and not mine, be done."

On second-day, several friends being in his room, and on his looking to see who it was sitting behind him, he said, "It is my dear wife—we have lived in near and dear unity together. Thou hast been a sweet companion to me. To the Lord be the praise."

At several times he dropped many weighty expressions, attended with the savour of life, which were not taken down; but the substance thereof manifested the great sweetness of his spirit, and that his heart was full of love.

Addressing an individual, he said, "O dear Samuel, I have blessed the Lord many a time, for that he brought my poor soul acquainted with true *silence*. What a people Friends are! There is not such another in the known world!" And again

spoke of the preciousness of Friends being preserved in the unity.

Some time after, he addressed another friend to this import, "I have always loved thee. Be valiant for the cause of Truth. It's time for thee to give up body, soul, and spirit, in full dedication. How many, for want of a full surrender, miss of that peace which would flow as a river."

The evening before his departure, he grew much weaker, and his pain increasing, made it doubtful to himself whether he should survive till morning.—He beckoned to me to sit by him, as he frequently had done; and, taking hold of my hand, laid it to his face, quietly saying, "My dear, watch with me this night." Being asked how he was, he replied, "In the Lord's keeping. I have that evidence."

He continued till about the middle of the day following, when he took an affectionate farewell of his wife, saying, "The Lord's power is above all other powers." And shortly after, quietly expired, without sigh or groan, and fell asleep in the Lord.

H. Y."

The following tribute of affection to the memory of Peter Yarnall, was sent to his widow not long after his decease.

"And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

This text affectingly impressed my mind last evening, on hearing of the death of my much valued friend, Peter Yarnall.

When such dignified characters are removed, it is not only within the limits of family and connexions

the loss is felt;—it becomes extensive,—the church laments,—and virtue mourns.

Powerful and persuasive in his ministry,—kind and compassionate in his disposition,—he was ever ready to assist the poor,—not only in his medical capacity; but their spiritual wounds were bound up, by the consoling word of encouragement. And, having felt the “terrors of the Lord for sin,” and passed through the dispensation of judgment, to a state of justification, sanctification, and full renovation of heart, he was qualified, by and through the resurrection of Life, to administer comfort to those that were afflicted, whether in body or mind; yea, and to pour in the wine and oil.

Yet why should we lament, if a friend we loved hath entered a little while before us into that glorious habitation, where, after the longest life, the best can but hope to be? I say, why? Yet, there is something implanted in our nature, even to the most perfect, which feels regret at such a separation from friends and relatives; especially those who by the piety of their lives, reflected a lustre in this degenerate age.

But, instead of unavailing grief,—may such instances of mortality excite our endeavours to follow them as they followed Christ;—that we may be entitled to the same joyful sentence of “Well done, good and faithful servant,—enter thou into the joy of thy Lord,” and into thy heavenly Master’s rest.

Philadelphia, 2nd mo. 22nd, 1798.

S. R.”

Perhaps these Memoirs cannot be more appropriately closed, than by the following lines “To the memory of the late pious Peter Yarnall,” which

appeared soon after his decease, in a periodical published in Philadelphia—without the author's name.

When those whom flatt'rer's call the great, have died,
The sons of folly, wealth, ambition, pride;
What mourning throngs have crowded round their grave,
With solemn songs, from death their name to save:
But when the truly great, the pious, die,
How few the breasts that swell with sorrow's sigh!

Yet there are minds, O Yarnall, where thy name
Shall be embalm'd with honourable fame;—
Minds that delight in virtue, and disdain
To stoop to soothing adulation's strain.
Such souls sincerely give melodious praise,
To those who fairly win the immortal bays.

If aught earth-born can gain the laurel crown,—
Those spirits, whom their God and Saviour own;
Who nobly forfeit wealth, and ease, and life,
To wage with vice a more than mortal strife;
Who climb the steeps, where heav'n and virtue lead,—
May humbly claim the unperishable meed.

Such is the high, and honourable claim,
That virtue boldly pleads for Yarnall's name.
His private sphere, e'en clouded eyes shall find,
By deeds of light,—an image of his mind:—
A cordial love, where love was due alone,
Express'd in nature's unaffected tone;
Stamping each heart that tenderness could feel,
Deep with sincerity's undoubted seal:
But, if reproof were due, reproof was heard,
With angel meekness, gracing every word.

His friends were num'rous;—friends to whom his heart
Could freely the full flood of love impart.—
But by no friends, and by no sect confin'd,
Were the warm wishes of his ardent mind.
Taught in the school of wisdom,—heaven's first law,
He felt fraternal love for all he saw.

'The rich and poor, with equal fervour lov'd,
Superior merit only more approv'd.
Like those of old, whose strong affections flow'd,
From their own kindred, till they spread abroad,
O'er the wide earth,—where'er mankind were found;
Such was his heart,—it knew no other bound:
And like those too,—commission'd from above,
He journey'd, full of meekness as of love,
To teach wide-erring mortals how to find,
Amid the storms of life, true peace of mind.
By Truth eternal, on this errand sent,
He ne'er forgot his Master's deep intent;
But as the unerring Spirit led the way,
He taught us how to act, and how to pray.
Strange as some *new* philosophers may deem
The mighty wonders of the gospel-theme;
His hopes were founded on the sacred Rock,
From that deep well his argument he took;
And none, with mitred head, has ever strove,
With purer zeal to show his Maker's love;
To justify the wisdom of his ways,
And on the wings of truth to sound his praise.
No mere lip-service did he dare impart,
To Him, whose right is an unsullied heart.
His soul was with such reverence impress'd,
That on his countenance it stood confess'd.
Ye who have seen him rise, to plead the cause
Of Heaven, and advocate his Saviour's laws,—
Ye know that language is too poor to trace
His unaffected dignity and grace.
And when the music of his voice was heard,
Ye felt the power of every glowing word;
And by the workings of your hearts, confess'd
That something more than human touch'd your breast.
Yes, sainted spirit, thy commission came
From Him, whom mortal tongues Jehovah name.

Thy thoughts and life were plac'd within his hand;
Thy lips were free, or seal'd, at his command:
And when he bade thee speak, his Spirit own'd
Thy words were Truth, and thy blest labours crown'd.
'Twas his deep wisdom taught thee to descry
Thoughts that were hidden from each human eye;
To see beneath religion's fair outside,
The selfish heart of vanity and pride:
And in thy warning voice, his Spirit spoke,
While the dark breast, with awful terrors shook.

But when heaven's mercy dwelt upon thy tongue,
Deep strains of holy rapture pour'd along.
For thy mild spirit lov'd to sound abroad
The wondrous mercies of the eternal God.
Oft has it drawn, in living hues of thought,
The touching parable thy Saviour taught;
Show'd how the prodigal, returning, came
To seek his father, full of grief and shame;
Repentant bow'd his face upon the earth,
And own'd himself unworthy of his birth.
Thrill'd by parental love, o'ercome with joy,
The father threw his arms around his boy;
Forgave his crimes,—prepar'd the gladsome feast,
And mingled tears of rapture with his guest.
'Twas here, thy beaming eloquence of soul
Shed a transparent glory round the whole.

Thine was a zeal, like Paul's, above all fear,
Tho' meek, yet bold; tho' cautious, yet sincere.
A zeal, obedient to thy God's command,
Whose value, Christians only understand.

But now, alas! if man may dare to sigh,
O'er those whom heaven calls to their native sky;
Alas! no more, my all-attentive ear,
The inspirations of thy soul shall hear:
My heart no longer vibrate to thy voice,
Mourn with thy spirit, or with it rejoice.

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 6.]

FIFTH MONTH, 1832.

[VOL. II.

PETER YARNALL'S JOURNAL.

*Account of a Journey to Redstone and parts of
Virginia.*

On the 26th of the 10th month, 1789, I left home in company with Jacob Worley, and lodged that night at Joseph Griest's. Next day had a meeting at Huntingdon, and stayed the night following at Joseph Elgar's. On the 28th, we were at Monallen meeting, and thence proceeded to Shippens-town, where we had an open meeting in the evening of the 29th. The two following days we travelled to Bedford, and lodged at Thomas Blackburn's.

1st of 11th month, we had a meeting with Friends of Bedford, and the next day, another meeting with the people of Bedford town. On the 3rd, we crossed the Alleghany mountain, and lodged at the house of Christian Speigher, a friendly old man, a Menno-nist, where we were kindly entertained, though we had much company. 4th of the month, proceeded forward towards Laurel Hill, the roads being very difficult, so that by constant travelling we got only fourteen miles on our way, and lodged within three miles of Laurel Hill, at the house of a friendly man, named Henry Behm, where we met with kind entertainment, but no delicacies.

5th. Proceeded this morning over Laurel Hill—the roads more difficult, I think, than I ever knew

them before, abounding with deep mud, rocks and stones. I walked much, in order to warm myself, and favour my mare—she often groaned, so that I felt much pity for her—and in an especial manner I felt for many people that were moving towards the back countries, and who had to encounter great difficulties, both themselves and their children. I was often closely affected with sympathy towards them, many being bare of money, and of the necessities of life. We stopped on the west side of Laurel Hill, and fed our horses, they being much tired as well as ourselves. With great industry we travelled only twenty-one miles this day; and though much wearied and unwell, we had to put up with lodging that was much exposed, in an open loft, and no plastering between the logs: yet through Divine goodness we were preserved from taking cold.

Next day we went on towards Perry's mill, and heard of a Friend who lived three-quarters of a mile from the road, named Alexander McGrew, where we called, had our horses fed, and dined. After which, we had a season of retirement with the family. This evening, we reached the house of James McGrew, where a meeting of Friends was held, and we proposed staying till first-day in order to attend it.

This place is called Chewickly, owing to a creek, called Little Chewickly. The land in this settlement is rich—the timber large and tall—abounding with sugar maple, of which some families can make near two hundred weight of sugar per year. But notwithstanding the soil is luxuriant, the inhabitants labour under considerable difficulties, or what we should account such. Tradesmen get very little cash

for their work, and some scarcely any. There is a great lack of schools for their children,—and some have far to go to procure their grain ground at mills. I think if the people were more industrious, they might live more comfortably. The houses being open and cold, they put great piles of wood on their fires; but if they would stop the large holes and cracks in their houses, much labour might be saved in cutting their wood. I wondered they could not see this want of economy; but custom has a great influence on the people. Goods are high in the stores, in this back country; much being brought out by pack-horses; some of which are exceedingly oppressed, and die on the roads. Salt is about twenty, and from that to twenty-five and thirty shillings per bushel. Seven bushels of wheat were lately bartered for one bushel of salt. What seemed to affect me most, was, the want of proper care being taken of children, to cultivate their minds, and bring them up in a proper manner. They appeared very raw and ignorant, and much unacquainted with that holy principle which we profess to be led and guided by.

On the 8th of 11th month, we attended meeting, which was large, and a good degree of openness felt among the people. This afternoon we set out towards Pittsburg, with James McGrew, who proposed accompanying us a few miles. Stopped at the house of Garret Pindergrass—he and his wife were an aged couple, with whom we had a sitting, and they expressed much satisfaction with the opportunity. The old man was much afflicted with bodily indisposition. We went on, and lodged at the house of Elijah Nowlan, where Finley McGrew met us, and

James returned home. This family were truly kind to us, and invited us to return and lodge with them.

9th. Went to Pittsburg, and called on col. John Gibson, an Indian trader, and now a member of Convention,—informed him of our errand, which was to have a meeting among the inhabitants of the town. He accompanied us to a magistrate of the place, who manifested great kindness,—approved of our proposal, and promised to have general notice spread. A friendly man, at whose inn we took up our abode, offered us a large room in his house to hold the meeting in, which we accepted. My mind was much humbled under a prospect of what was before me; but mine eye was kept secretly to the Lord. The meeting was largely attended, and held to a good degree of satisfaction.

On the 10th, we returned to Chewickly, and the day following, were at their week-day meeting.—After which we went home with Ebenezer Walker, and lodged, near Youghiogany river. Here I felt much as at home; and being lame, I was kindly nursed by these truly loving friends. 12th. Went to Little Redstone meeting; after which, crossing the Monongahela river, we lodged at Henry Dixon's. 13th. Were at Fallowfield meeting, where we met with Isaac Grigg of Pittsburg—and in the afternoon, being supplied with fresh horses, and accompanied by H. Dixon, we again crossed the river, and went to Ebenezer Walker's, where we had appointed a meeting for his neighbours. 14th. The people gathering at Ebenezer's, we held our meeting. They were quiet and attentive; but some of them very raw and ignorant—and some of the people did not come till the meeting was nearly over.

This we found to be the case in several places.—15th. We rode to Little Redstone, and had a large satisfactory meeting. There was at this meeting one Edward Cooke, an elder of the Presbyterian meeting, a magistrate and judge of the court. I understood he takes no fees for all his services. He was solid and attentive. Lodged this evening at John Cope's, where two aged Friends came to visit us, Nathan Brown and wife—she is a sister to Joseph Elgar. They were the first Friends who settled at Little Redstone; being then in times of great difficulty.

16th. We went to Samuel Jackson's, on the waters of Great Redstone and Monongahela, J. C. and J. P. accompanying us. They went this afternoon to the Old Fort, to provide a place for holding a meeting. On the 17th, we attended the meeting appointed for us at the Old Fort of Redstone; which was a laborious season, yet I hope Truth did not suffer. Went to Rees Cadwalader's to lodge, and next day were at Redstone meeting; and the day following, at Westland meeting. 20th. We went to Washington town, and had a meeting in the court house, in the evening.

21st. We set out from Washington, the roads being very deep and difficult, appeared in many places formed into steps and deep holes, we made but slow progress, and our horses became much fatigued.—When we had travelled twelve or fourteen miles, we entered on a ridge of mountain, which extended towards the Ohio, about nine miles. When we descended, we crossed a rapid stream, flush with water, and a rough bottom, about five times in a mile's riding. Had to ford the same many times after-

ward, when it came on dark and very stormy, and we strangers to the road. It was so dark that we could not see one another, nor the path, so we let our horses take their own way, though we sometimes apprehended danger. Frequently calling to each other, we followed by the voice; and at length discovered a light, at which we greatly rejoiced.—As we drew near, we called for assistance, and obtained a pilot to show us the way to our next stage, about a mile ahead. But before we reached it, we had a deep water to pass through, and it growing lighter, we could discern our guide, who had on a white hunting shirt. Having to pass down the stream into a mill-pond, before we could get out on the bank, it became very deep, and difficult to make our way—yet through Divine favour, we got safe out, and reached our intended lodging place, at a fort on Wheeling creek; where was the abode of David Shepherd, who, with his wife, was very kind to us. Having a good fire, we were soon warmed and dried, having been wet with the storm—and a very good supper much refreshed us. I was humbly thankful to meet with such a comfortable reception; for it had appeared as if we should have to lodge in the woods, which might have been dangerous.

22nd. In company with col. Shepherd, we rode to the mouth of Wheeling creek, having sent a messenger before us, to inform of our desire to have a meeting at Ebenezer Zane's, at two o'clock, but the waters being high, the people could not attend. We however concluded to hold our meeting, and many persons who were bound for the Kentucky country, being there, waiting an opportunity to go

down the river, gave us their company at meeting, and were quiet. Lodged here.

23rd. Our horses were missing this morning, through some carelessness of the Kentucky people. After sending several men out on horseback, in search of them—and ranging the woods ourselves, we returned without them. But afterward, on going out alone, I met with them, as they were returning. As we were about setting off, I felt not clear, and proposed retiring with the family—so, sitting down together, with one of Ebenezer's daughters who lived on the west side of the Ohio, and was here on a visit, and a neighbouring woman,—we had a comfortable opportunity together, and parted in much love. We returned with the colonel, and accepted his invitation to tarry with him another night, as good quarters were scarce in this part of the country. He took us a nearer way to his house, so as to escape the deep miry road; but we had to cross a deep water, and over a mountain, so steep that we all had to alight from our horses, and climb up; in doing which, I had to hold by the saplings to assist me. Here the colonel showed us where the Indians had made a pen, to secure the horses which they had taken from the white inhabitants—also, some curious marks, which I took to be descriptive of their nation, and the number of prisoners and scalps they had obtained.

Yesterday, as we went down, we overtook a delicate woman on horseback, who had fallen from her horse into the deep mire, so that she could not get out without help—the mire was so deep, that she lost one of her shoes, which her husband found by thrusting his arm into the mud. I pitied the woman

much, as also her infant which she had in her arms. She bore it without complaint, though she appeared very solicitous about her child, as there was no fire near.

24th. After a sitting in the family, we took leave of them, and again crossed the seventeen branches to the foot of the ridge, where we lodged at James Clemmings; and in the morning, he and his wife accompanied us to Washington, where we had a meeting. But the people did not appear to understand meeting on a week-day, so we had but few of them with us. I proposed another meeting in the evening, when more attended, perhaps forty in number; and I think we were favoured together.

25th. Left Washington, and rode to Amos Grigg's; had a religious opportunity in the family, to our comfort, and appointed a meeting at John Grigg's. There were divers tender people there, and it was a pretty open season. Here we lodged. I was inwardly and outwardly refreshed in this family—they had a lovely offspring.

26th. Rode to Westland, and next day attended monthly meeting there; and the day following were at Redstone meeting: had also a meeting in the afternoon at the Old Fort, to satisfaction; it was a large solid meeting. Lodged at Rees Cadwalader's.

29th. Visited some families, and next day had a meeting at Beeson-town, to a good degree of satisfaction.

12th mo. 2nd. Had a meeting at Sandy Creek Glades, at the house of Samuel Morton, who has eleven children. We had also a sitting with his family; and next day travelled towards Old Town on the Potowmac. 7th. Lodged at Owen Rogers's,

at Bear Garden; and reached Abel Walker's on the 8th. Next day, attended Centre week-day meeting, and had a meeting in the town of Winchester, in Virginia. Dined with my brother who is settled there, and got on to Hopewell, where we lodged at Amos Jolliff's. On the 10th, were at Hopewell meeting; and next day, travelled no further than the widow McPherson's, where, being much fatigued and a little unwell, it likewise raining, we concluded to rest till next day, the 12th, when we reached Israel Janney's, at Goose Creek. On the 13th, we were at Goose Creek meeting, and at an appointed meeting in the evening, at Leesburg.

14th. Attended the Quarterly meeting at Fairfax, and next day the public meeting for the youth and others, at the same place. Lodged at Mahlon Janney's. Stayed to attend their week-day meeting on the 16th. Job Scott being there, it was a large meeting, but the most exercising, perhaps, of any we met with in the course of this journey.

On the 17th, was at a meeting at Leesburg. A few of the sober people among the Methodists being there, we had a precious, comfortable season together. This afternoon, got to Joseph Lacy's, and had a meeting at his house next day. He has a pretty family of children; they were affectionately kind to us. 19th returned to Fairfax, and were at meeting there next day with Job Scott who was on a religious visit in these parts. 21st. Set out with William Stabler, for Sandy Spring, and lodged at Basil Brooke's. 22nd. Visited Roger Brooke's family, and on the 24th, had a meeting at Evan Thomas's. 26th. We went to Georgetown, to a meeting appointed for us, and that evening reached Alexan-

dria, where we stayed the night with John Saunders, an old school-mate of mine. On the 27th, being first of the week, we attended the morning meeting at this place. It was not so large as I expected, being a rainy day; though many of other societies were there, who behaved quietly, and the meeting, I believe, was a favoured opportunity. The afternoon meeting began at three o'clock. It was very laborious and exercising; yet I hope ended well; though things were closely spoken to. This evening, we had a sitting with our kind host, J. S., to our comfort and refreshment.

On the 28th, we visited all the families of Friends in Alexandria; and being at the house of John Butcher, I received a message from a young woman, that she had a great desire to see me, being very low. I visited her accordingly, and found her under great affliction, yet in much sweetness of mind. I left her calm, though her husband appeared under great concern lest she might be removed. We parted with our dear friends, John Saunders and wife, and got to William Hartshorne's, to lodge.—29th. Being a day of great storm and rain, we stayed with our kind friends, and had a precious opportunity with them. Received account of the death of the young woman whom I visited the preceding day; and on the 30th, returned to Alexandria to attend the funeral. A large gathering of people assembled on the occasion, and it was a solemn time. I afterwards accompanied the corpse to the grave, and spoke again to the people, reminding them of the awful scene. They were solid and attentive. This evening, it spread in my mind that it might be best to appoint a meeting particularly for

Friends, and such tender, seeking people, as might incline to attend it. This was accordingly done, and the day following we had a comfortable, refreshing season together. After which, we left Alexandria and proceeded to Georgetown, where we had a meeting appointed for the people of that place.—But there being a town-meeting, they were preparing for an election the day following, and a ball being there the same evening,—our meeting was small; perhaps not more than thirty persons present.

On the morning of the new year, 1790, Evan Thomas being with us, we set out for his house, and arrived next day at Sandy Spring, on our way thither. Lodged at Roger Brooke's, and the next day, being first of the week, I was sent for early to Basil Brooke's, his wife being very poorly. After directing something for her, I returned to Roger's, and had an opportunity with the family; several of whom accompanied us by the way of Basil's, to meeting at Sandy Spring, which was a solid, favoured season. This afternoon, we had a meeting appointed at Evan Thomas's, which was large, and to our satisfaction; many of the Roman Catholics being there, were quiet and attentive—and it was a good meeting. Lodged at Evan's.

4th. Accompanied by Samuel Snowden, we went on towards Indian Spring, where next day we had a large and solid meeting. Then went home with Joseph Hopkins, and in the evening went to his brother Elisha's; his wife being low in health, we had an opportunity in her chamber, which I believe was a season of refreshment. 6th. Called at the widow Hopkins's, and had a sitting. Visited Philip Hopkins, junr. and wife, and John Cowman's fami-

ly, who were in much affliction, on account of their son being removed by death, in the bloom of life. We had a religious opportunity with them, and spent the afternoon there. Lodged at Richard Hopkins's, who, with divers other Friends, accompanied us next day to Annapolis, where we had a meeting in the Methodist meeting-house. But the people missing of that general notice we wished, we appointed another to be held the following week, and proceeded this afternoon to John Thomas's, at West River.

On the 8th, calling by the way to see several families, we reached Benjamin Hann's in the evening. Here we got a friendly man to appoint a meeting for us at the town of Benedict, to be held in the afternoon, next day; which we accordingly attended; and on the 10th, went to the Clifts meeting, which was large and solid. Lodged at my cousin Richard Roberts's, and this evening we were favoured with a precious visitation to the family.— 11th. Proceeded to Herring creek, and had a meeting there. Dined at captain Mainard's, and got again to John Thomas's, at West River.

12th. We were at West River meeting. Many grand people in appearance were there, with whom we had close labour. On the 13th, proceeded to Annapolis, and had a favoured meeting there; and next day, attended Indian Spring meeting; then to Joseph Cowman's, where we tarried the night.— 15th. We had a meeting in a chapel, eight miles from John Cowman's, which was large and to satisfaction. Next day, had another meeting at Annapolis, and returned to the widow Hopkins's.— 16th. This morning, we parted with our dear friend,

Evan Thomas, and proceeded to Ellicott's mills, where we had a large meeting in the evening, to satisfaction—the people were solid and quiet.

19th. Had a meeting at Elk Ridge meeting-house this morning, among Friends and a few sober, seeking people; and in the afternoon, a large, quiet meeting at John Ellicott's, in a new building lately erected. 20th. Attended their week-day meeting again, at Elk Ridge; and in the afternoon, rode to Baltimore. Next day, was at Friends' week-day meeting there, and in the evening of the day following, had a large, solid meeting in the Methodists' house; there was thought to be near a thousand people at it. 24th. Being first-day, was at two meetings—and on the 25th, was at Gunpowder meeting. Called to see Hannah Matthews, Oliver's daughter, and had a refreshing season in her chamber. After visiting another family, lodged at the widow Matthews'. Next day, being the 26th of 1st month, 1790, I reached home, and found my dear wife and children well, having been absent on this journey just three months, and travelled upwards of a thousand miles.

Journal of Peter Yarnall's visit to New England.

On the 18th of the 5th month, 1793, I left home, and was at Bristol on the 19th. In the evening, had a meeting at Trenton; and on the 20th, got to Rahway. 21st. Was at meeting there, and reached New York in the evening. 22nd. Attended meeting in New York, and on the 23rd, was at a meeting at Flushing, on Long Island. On the 24th, was

at the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, and the week following, attended the several sittings of the Yearly Meeting, which concluded on the 30th. On the 31st, I attended a meeting for the black people—it was a very large gathering, with some Indians among them.

2nd of 6th month, was at a meeting at Bethpage, and in the evening I had a meeting at Sequatague. From thence, Fry Willis and wife, their son Thomas, and Jacob Willets, accompanied me toward the east end of the island. On the 3rd, we had an evening meeting at Quage, in a dwelling house; and on the 4th, were at a meeting appointed for us among the Indians, at their settlement, five miles from Southampton, near Canoe Place. Their two ministers, Paul and Peter John, were present with us; and we visited many of them in their wigwams.—There are some pretty young people among them, and some tender old people. Peter John is near eighty years of age.

In the evening, had a meeting at Southampton, where the people were solid and quiet. I lodged at the house of one Rogers, a kind-hearted man, of an enlarged mind. We had a religious opportunity with this family on the 5th, when he desired liberty to call in some of his neighbours, which was acceptable—and after a good meeting with them, we took an affectionate leave, and moved on to East Hampton, where we appointed a meeting, to be held in the evening of the same day.

We also sent a messenger to appoint a meeting for us at Montauk, with the Indians, to whom I addressed a letter. This meeting was accordingly held at the time proposed, in their academy. There was

a large number present, especially of the young people. The subject of silent worship was opened, and I was led, in gospel love, to labour to impress their minds with the necessity of becoming more weighty and reverent, when they meet for that solemn purpose. I thought I never beheld more beautiful countenances at any meeting, than appeared among the youth. My heart was deeply concerned that the Lord's presence and power might be with us; which, I humbly trust, was mercifully granted, and some of them were much tendered.

6th of the month, and fifth of the week, we thought best of moving toward the second Indian settlement, by the way of Amaganset; and accordingly, had a meeting with the Indians there, but not so early in the day as we desired, by reason of the difficulty of the road to their settlement. I opened to them the doctrines of the Christian religion, and they were solid and attentive. As we apprehended we felt the life withdrawing from the meeting, we attempted breaking it up; but the people appeared unwilling to move, so I took my seat again, with the other Friends, and a solemn covering prevailing, I was drawn forth in supplication for the poor natives of the land—and I had to intercede for them, that their minds might become more enlightened, and that they might be preserved from the ravages of war. In this exercise, I believe access was granted to the Fountain of all good. Afterward the Indian minister appeared, expressing his unity and satisfaction with the doctrine communicated, in a feeling manner, and that it was his belief we ought all to live agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel,

or to the revelation of the Divine principle within us, by which alone true peace can be witnessed.

After some conference with them, we parted affectionately, and returned to Amaganset, where we had appointed a meeting, which was held in silence, to my inward satisfaction; but not without complaint on the part of some who were collected there, whom I endeavoured to convince of the propriety thereof. Lodged at the house of Nathaniel Hand.

7th of the month, we proceeded to East Hampton to another meeting which I appointed there, at eleven o'clock; but we found the time was not altogether suited to the convenience of the people; yet I hope it was a good meeting. A proposal was made to us, to hold a meeting in the evening, and not feeling my mind wholly relieved, I felt willing to encourage it; and we accordingly had another meeting there at seven o'clock in the evening; which, I believe, was the largest meeting we had on the east end of the island: and although I was silent therein, my mind was much relieved through secret, hidden exercise. I heard no complaint respecting it, and the people appeared very affectionate.

8th. We concluded to leave this place, and went on to Sagg-harbour. After dining there, we took boat for New London, about one o'clock, P. M.— Had a pleasant, gentle gale at first, but the wind sometimes lulled, then breezed up afresh, and we landed at Groton that evening about sunset. It is on the east side of Thames river, opposite New London, in Connecticut. Lodged at doctor Prentice's, who keeps an inn.

On the 9th of 6th month, rode to Westerly meeting, twenty miles, a very difficult, stony road. We

invited some people near the meeting-house, to meet with us, for we found none there who had a right of membership, residing within the limits of that meeting. I think about thirty persons attended, and divers of them a light, gay people; but we had a good meeting, and were invited by a kind man, a Baptist, to dine. This invitation we accepted, and were also accompanied by another friendly man, whose name was Taylor, who, with his daughter-in-law, dined there with us. After dinner, we went on to the house of William Peckham, where we lodged. He is a tanner, and lives about midway between Upper and Lower South Kingston, in Rhode Island State.

10th. We attended a meeting at Lower South Kingston, appointed by Elias Hicks of Jericho, Long Island, who, with James Mott and Adonijah Underhill, has taken a course through the Connecticut country, and is on a religious visit to Friends eastward. Got this evening to Newport, and took up my abode at my kind friend, Thomas Robinson's; whom I was truly glad to see, with his affectionate wife and children.

11th. I went in company with Samuel R. Fisher and his wife's sister, Rodman, to Canonicut Island, to attend a meeting appointed by Elias Hicks. I thought we had a good meeting.

12th. Went to Portsmouth with Rebecca Jones and her companion, Lydia Hoskins, to attend the opening of the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, its first sittings being held there, and also a meeting for worship next day. The several sittings of the Yearly Meeting were held at Newport, as were also the succeeding ones of the Select meeting. Next day after the conclusion of the Yearly Meet-

ing, I joined Rebecca Jones and Lydia Hoskins in a family visit to Friends of Newport, with Job Chaloner, a Friend of the town. We visited about sixty families. When this service was gone through, I felt a concern to appoint a meeting for the black people, in which I had the near unity and concurrence of my beloved friends, Rebecca Jones and Lydia Hoskins, as well as of Friends of Newport.

On the 30th of 6th month, after attending two meetings on the first day of the week, we met a considerable number of black people in the evening, perhaps near four hundred, at Friends' meeting house in Newport. They were generally serious, and many of them tenderly affected under the gospel truths communicated to them, and expressed gladness in being thus regarded.

1st of 7th month, at the tenth hour, a meeting was appointed for the children of the town, between the age of seven and fifteen years. I had opened such a concern to my dear friends, and they feeling a near sympathy with me therein, approbated it fully, and a precious meeting it proved to be. The Lord's gracious presence attending, many children with their parents and tutors, were affected. I believe there were more than one thousand children attended, and several hundreds of grown people, with some advanced in age, and several Baptist ministers. I felt such a flow of love in my heart towards them, that I thought I was fully rewarded for all my exercise under the prospect of coming to Newport, before any engagement in public service.

My beloved friends, Rebecca Jones and Lydia Hoskins, proposing to embark on the 2nd for New York, we had a solid opportunity in the family of

our dear friend, T. R. this evening, and next morning parted under the holy canopy of love, commending each other to Divine protection. After which, Thomas Willis and myself, with David Buffum, moved towards Tiverton, to attend a meeting appointed there at the fourth hour, P. M. Lodged at the house of Joseph Barker, brother to Jas. Bringhurst's wife, who, with her husband, were there.

7th mo. 3rd. I was at a meeting appointed at Little Compton. Here David Buffum left us, and we were then joined by Jacob Mott. This evening we went to the house of an ancient Friend, named John Gifford, near Acoaksett, to lodge. He was in his eighty-sixth year, an innocent, valuable man.

5th. We attended a meeting at Acoaksett, and had a meeting at Centre in the afternoon at four o'clock. Lodged at Thomas Mott's; and next day were at Newtown meeting. Dined at John Tucker's, and lodged at Joseph Tucker's.

7th. At a meeting appointed at Aponegansett, and got to New Bedford this evening. Lodged with our kind friend William Rotch, jun. 8th. Was at two meetings at Bedford, and next day attended two meetings, one at Long Plain, and the other at Accushnet. 10th. Had a meeting at Fair Haven, which was large, and held in the Presbyterian meeting house. Some were tenderly affected with the opportunity, particularly a friendly man, whose name was Proctor, whom we visited; and he manifested great hospitality towards us. In the afternoon of this day, I visited divers families, and an ancient man who was indisposed. This evening, took leave of divers of our dear friends at Bedford.

On the 11th, parting with the kind family where

we lodged, we embarked on board a packet, bound for Nantucket. Captain Parker came on board the vessel at Wood's Hole, who, with his wife, had been on a visit to their friends there. I had some conversation with him concerning an accident which befel him some years before, while in the business of whaling. Having struck the whale with a harpoon, the creature dived down, after receiving the wound, and his leg being entangled with the rope, he was carried overboard, and it was supposed about thirty-five fathom under water. Some endeavours were made to cut the rope, but it was some time before it was divided, it being not cut through; but the whale, by its force, broke the rope off, and he got loose or disentangled from it, and rose to the surface of the water. They took him up, though to all appearance, dead; and no signs of life were discovered for some time, yet after awhile, he moved, and came to;—his leg being broken, it could not be set for some weeks, and being a compound fracture, a piece of the bone was removed, and a reduction attempted. He now walks very well. It was a marvellous deliverance.

We had a pleasant passage; but in the forepart of the day the wind, though fair, was small, the tide being against us, when near Wood's Hole (an opening between two islands) we anticipated difficulty. It is a dangerous passage, vessels sometimes getting on the rocks, but we were favoured, just entering into the strong current at said passage, and got safely and pleasantly through. About the fourth hour, we got sight of Nantucket, and it being about five in the morning when we left Bedford, we made our passage completely in about fourteen hours and a

half. Got to the house of our kind friend Samuel Rodman, to lodge.

12th. We attended meeting at the South meeting house, being their usual week-day meeting. Next day went into the country, and 14th were at both meeting houses on the island.

15th. Had a meeting among the black people; and next day had a meeting at a small village, called Polypus; the people not professing with us. It was a favoured meeting. The same evening, had a meeting in the town of Nantucket, having all collected who were free to attend, that had been disowned from among Friends, and through the Lord's tender mercy, we had a good meeting; so that I had to conclude, that no seasons were more owned than some of those when collected in this way, with such as had strayed from the Shepherd of Israel.

17th. I was at the week-day meeting at the North house, and in the evening at a meeting appointed for those who had not at any time made profession with us. It was a large, solemn meeting. My heart was much enlarged in gospel love, and I was led to treat on the apostle's errand to the house of Cornelius; being fully persuaded the Lord was no respecter of persons, but that in every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, they who fear him and work righteousness, are accepted. There were many among them very tender, mostly Presbyterians, but a plain people. 18th. Attended their week-day meeting at the South house; and in the evening, was at a meeting there, appointed by Mary Mitchell for the young men who were members of our society, many among them being about to embark for distant parts of the world, as they mostly

follow a maritime life; some engaged in the business of whaling, and others go on merchant voyages. I hope the time was not lost; but too great rawness is very conspicuous.

19th and 20th. With several others of my dear friends, Jethro and Mary Mitchell, and Jacob Mott, I visited about twenty families of the black people, on the island, to our satisfaction; though some among them are very dark and ignorant, and perhaps never had the company of Friends before, in this way. The coloured people here are now mixed with other negroes from the Cape de Verd Islands.

21st. Being first day, I was at meeting at both meeting houses; and this evening was led carefully to look back, in order to see whether any thing had been omitted, on my part (or indeed committed) wherein I might have been more watchful; but was made thankful that I had endeavoured, for the most part, to attend to the feeling I had when I first landed on the Island, which was a restriction from going much about,—notwithstanding the importunities of many kind friends, who did not altogether know the state of my mind. On this subject, at many other times and places, I have wished, on reflection, that I had been more particularly attentive.

23rd. The packet sailing, I did not feel altogether clear, and concluded not to move till way was opened. This day I spent in visiting a number of families, some of whom were very sick. The next day, was at Polypus, and had another meeting there; at which were divers who had not been at the former;—was also at a meeting of Friends at the North house, being the day of the first preparative meeting held there. 26th. Was at the other

meeting, South house, and took, as I believed, my leave of them. We had a good meeting, in which I had to speak from the words of the apostle, when he took a final leave of the Corinthians: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect. Be of good comfort. Be of one mind. Live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you." I hardly ever felt my cup more to overflow, than in this meeting; and reminded them that I had laboured faithfully among them; having by this time attended fifteen meetings on the island among the different classes of the people, and visited, I believe, above fifty families. In the afternoon of this day, had several more sittings, and in the evening, a precious opportunity with my dear friends at whose house I lodged; divers Friends being present from other families, to our mutual comfort. My heart was much humbled, feeling myself to be truly an unprofitable servant. And though at seasons I was much enlarged in gospel love, yet I had nothing of my own. It was the Lord's doings, and marvellous in mine eyes.

26th. I left Nantucket on my way to Martha's Vineyard, which we reached that night about ten o'clock. Took up our abode at William Coffin's, and had a meeting at his house the next day, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Also appointed a meeting to be held at the same place the day following, being the first day of the week. 28th. Attended the same, which was large, and in the afternoon had a meeting at a small settlement of Indians, their minister being present. At the close of this opportunity we proposed to the Indian minister, Zachary, to appoint a meeting for us at Gay Head amongst the natives, on the 30th, to begin at the tenth hour.

But their being some dissatisfaction among them, and not being altogether reconciled to this minister, a majority declining to attend his meetings,—some professing to be Baptists, and some Presbyterians,—he was partial in spreading notice, and also appointed the meeting at a very unsuitable place, and three hours later in the day than what was proposed. But, arriving there about half past eight o'clock in the morning, we spread the notice ourselves, and had them generally together, and I hope it was a good meeting. This minister had laid a plan for detaining me several hours in conversation with him on religious subjects, of which he was very full. And when I proposed a movement to spread notice among the people, he would introduce another topic, desiring that none but his own people should attend. He was very rigid and narrow in his sentiments, and when at the meeting with the Indians, two days before, he offered me a Bible in the meeting, rather insisting that I should keep it in my hand, while I was speaking. And although I offered reasons which I thought sufficient to make his mind easy, yet he manifested his dislike to my refusal of it; which he reminded me of, at Gay Head. I endeavoured to reason the matter calmly,—advised him to attend our meeting; and afterwards, if he inclined to ask any sober questions, I would satisfy him therein according to the ability afforded. He did not attend with us; and though a sensible man, as to natural things, he was very ignorant concerning true religion. His wife came to meeting and appeared solid.

We went, before meeting, to the house of one Cooper, a coloured man, though mixed with Indian,

a very respectable man, by character. His wife appeared to be one of the natives, except a little mixture of the white. She is a religious woman, and appeared pleased to see us. With great cheerfulness, she prepared some victuals to set before us, with which we were much refreshed. Her husband having left the island on business, did not hear of the meeting before he embarked: but his children were very useful to us in spreading notice; and both they and their mother attended our meeting. They appear to live comfortably, and possess a pretty little estate. We had the company of a friendly man with us, by the name of Moses Lumburt, at whose house we had lodged the night before, and with whom, after meeting, we returned to dine.

I may observe, that the meeting at Gay Head was large, and I believe solid. I have never been at any meeting, I think, where the people appear more reverent than the Indians do in time of silence, manifesting great patience.

After dinner, M. L. and wife accompanied us (his children having gone on before) to a meeting we had appointed at a place called Chilmark, at the third hour that afternoon. The minister of the parish kindly offering the meeting-house which he officiated in, to accommodate us, attended the meeting himself, in company with a neighbouring parson,—and took his seat with Jacob Mott and myself in the pulpit, which was plain and roomy. The other parson sat below, with several Friends who came with us to the Vineyard. The meeting, I believe, was a satisfactory one. The people were generally Presbyterians, and appeared solid in the time of our sitting together. We took an affection-

ate leave of them, and went to the next town, called Tisbury, to attend a meeting appointed the day following.

31st of 7th month, we visited a small Indian settlement, called the North Show, in the morning; had their company with a number of the white inhabitants settled round them, in a meeting-house belonging to the natives; which we believed was a good meeting. On our return to Tisbury, we stopped at a decent mansion and took some refreshment, having done the same in going to the meeting. The man's name was John Davis; and both himself and wife kindly pressed us to stay and dine; but having spoken for a dinner to be provided for us at an inn, we went there, it being near to the meeting which we attended at the third hour, having previously spent nearly one hour with the parson at his house: but the meeting was a trying season, owing, I believe, to some latent prejudices, and a raw, careless spirit. The priest was very urgent for us to drink tea with himself and wife; but being informed that we proposed setting out to Edgar-town, which was nine or ten miles distant, and that we wished to reach it that night, he gave up the matter; and expressing a wish for our prosperity, we parted. Then, taking horse, we arrived about dusk at Elihu Coffin's, Edgar-town, where we were kindly received.

1st of 8th month, we waited on the priest of the parish, who had sent us word some days before, that his meeting-house was at our service. We informed him of the time we proposed holding a meeting there; the inhabitants having had intelligence of our coming, before. We then went on

and crossed a water to an island, called Chopaquidick, towards Cape Prag, where a number of Indians reside,—appointed a meeting to be held at two o'clock, and had them informed, as also the white inhabitants, amounting perhaps to thirty or forty families. Benjamin Pease, jun., kindly received us, and gave up his house to accommodate the meeting.

The inhabitants, I believe, were generally gathered, and a good meeting we had. After which, taking our affectionate leave, we proceeded to the house of an elderly man, near a small bay, whose kind wife being loth to let us go before we drank tea, we stayed; and after taking tea, had a religious opportunity with them, to our mutual comfort; she being a weakly woman, and not able to get out to meeting. Her husband took us across the harbour, in his boat, to Martha's Vineyard, the water being about half a mile over. We then had about a mile and a half to walk to our lodgings; having walked in all, to day, as nearly as I could ascertain, about seven or eight miles; notwithstanding which, I did not feel much fatigued in body, and was very much refreshed in spirit, there being a few tender-hearted people on this small island; and more kind, hospitable treatment, I could not wish to meet with.

2nd. This morning, we attended a large meeting at Edgar-town, with the inhabitants, agreeably to appointment. It was held in the meeting-house, the minister and his children were with us, and it was a good meeting, many tender people being present. This evening, about the sixth hour, we had another meeting at the house of Elihu Coffin, having the tender, seeking people, particularly invited; and indeed we had a precious meeting. At

the close of it, a wise woman desired to ask me some questions, in the hearing of divers people. I thought of the great Mary Starbuck; for I believe this woman has much influence with many of the people here. What she proposed for consideration was that of the ordinances (so called) and the resurrection. We took up each matter distinctly and separately; and feeling my mind clothed with much love towards all present, I spake to each point; having the least to say concerning the last. I informed her, that secret things belong to God, and we do not hold it essential or necessary to contend about it; for if we had a part in the first resurrection, our acceptance would be sealed with the Lord. I believe both herself and the company were satisfied, and took their leave of us affectionately. She told me her father died in the faith of the people called Quakers, though her mother was a Presbyterian, and she herself walked in that way, yet she united with us, as a people, in some things.

3rd. Not feeling easy in my mind to leave this place without having another general meeting among them, and the proposal obtaining the encouragement and approbation of their minister, it was accordingly appointed in their meeting-house, it being freely offered for that purpose. This minister was a man of truly liberal sentiments; we were twice to see him and his family in his own house. I had a concern also on my mind, this morning, to appoint a meeting at the head of the harbour, where we landed on our first coming to Martha's Vineyard, to be held on first-day, the 4th; and accordingly procured a messenger to go to the people of the town with a proposal to that effect, they having

invited us, when there before, to have a meeting with them, which we then declined;—but now it appeared to be the proper season for such an opportunity. We got this evening to William Coffin's, and next morning attended the said meeting at the head of the harbour; and it was a good meeting. In the afternoon, we had a meeting at our friend William Coffin's house, and in the evening, a sitting in his family, several of his neighbours being present.

On the 5th, the packet heaving in sight, on her passage to Bedford, we prepared to go on board. She lay too far for us, some distance from shore; and we took leave of our kind friends, got into a boat, and made for the vessel. It was a rough time, and the spray of the sea wet us. I thought it looked as if we might be overwhelmed, but through Divine favour we got safe aboard. The scene appeared awful; the vessel pitched and rolled very much, and the sea dashed upon her decks. In a little time we arrived at Wood's Hole, and appointed a meeting to be held there next morning at the house of James Wing, a member of our society. We then went forward to the town of Falmouth, and had a meeting there that evening, which was large. Lodged at the house of Timothy Crockus, father-in-law to the minister of the parish, a kind man, who, with his wife, made us very welcome.

This morning, being the 6th, we attended about half past eight o'clock, the meeting at James Wing's. The people were very restless during the silence of the meeting; but became more quiet, and it ended well. We then went on board the packet, and about half past twelve weighed anchor; though it appeared

as if we might meet with difficulty in attempting to get through. We, however, passed safely; while a vessel coming through immediately afterwards, was near being thrown on the rocks. About five o'clock in the afternoon we landed at New Bedford, and went to the house of our friend William Rotch jun., where we lodged.

7th. We appointed a meeting to be held this afternoon at Fair Haven, which we attended. Also procured a friend to go to Aponeganset, to appoint a meeting for us there. On the 8th, we were at New Bedford week-day meeting, and in the afternoon had a meeting at Aponeganset; the latter very large, and, I trust, a solid, good meeting.

9th. Were at Accushnet in the morning, and in the afternoon, at Long Plain. We dined at the widow Allen's, called at Timothy Davis's and spent a little time. He, with his wife and children went to meeting with us. There was a large gathering at Long Plain. I had felt a concern only to invite Friends, and those who had been disowned from among them. We had a good meeting, for which I was thankful. Went next to John Russell's, and lodged; and a tender young man, Obadiah Davis, accompanied us next day to Sandwich. We called and took breakfast with Nathan Davis and his children. He is brother to Timothy, and went out with him in his separation from Friends, but is now returned, and I hope, to the Shepherd of souls; for he is a tender hearted man. This evening, we reached Paul Wing's, and lodged there. Were at their meeting at Sandwich in the morning, and had a large meeting at Paul Wing's, in the afternoon, to which came many people of different denominations, but mostly

Presbyterians, with the minister of their congregation. We had, I trust, a good meeting. Their minister spent some time with us at the Friend's house, after meeting. In his conversation, he appeared to be a kindly affectionate man, and gave us a warm invitation to come and see him.

Second-day morning, being the 12th of 8th month, having appointed a meeting at Falmouth, we attended it. It was large and satisfactory. This evening, we visited an aged man and his wife, about ninety-six years old. Some of their neighbours being collected, we had a meeting with them. They had lived together about seventy years. Next morning we proceeded towards a place, called Farm Neck, a large settlement of Indians. Had a meeting among them, at the house of a black man, who was married to an Indian woman. He was a sensible, religious man, and told me *their* ministers preached for the fleece, and cared little for the flock. We had as many of the poor natives collected as we could, with a few white people. After this, we moved on to Bass River, a meeting being appointed for us at seven o'clock in the evening; but it was about eight before we arrived there, having wrong information of the distance; so that I believe we rode forty miles or more that day, had two meetings, and a religious opportunity with a family on the road. Lodged at David Kelly's.

14th. We went to Yarmouth, and had a meeting there in the morning. In the afternoon, another at Barnstable, where many behaved very irreverently. I had publicly to reprove them. After which, we had a good meeting, for they were ashamed of their conduct. A grave looking, ancient man, whom they

called a judge, tenderly invited us to his house, and seemed concerned that we could not visit him, by reason of our having spoken for refreshment at the inn, by the time we might return from the meeting. Here Mary Mitchell met us, on her way to Yarmouth. I called at the judge's door, and took him by the hand, then proceeded towards Sandwich, and lodged at the house of John Wing Scorton; where we met with an innocent black man, who called himself Peter Wing, supposed by the best accounts obtained to be about one hundred years of age. His head was nearly white. He had been at work nearly all day, in a salt-marsh, raking of hay. His faculties were bright, and he was pleasant and lively in conversation,—could remember many Friends, long since removed by death, who had visited this country in former years. I observed that his motion was quick, and though he informed me he was tired with the work he had been engaged in that day, he proposed going to the same business the next day. I was told that he had lived more than eighty years in the house where we lodged; and that he was capable of walking with most young men, and could perform a journey of seven or eight miles on foot, in about two hours.

Next day, the 15th, we had a meeting by appointment at Sandwich, and lodged at our kind friend, Paul Wing's. 16th. After taking an affectionate leave of the family, in a solid opportunity with them, we went to Monument Pond's, and had a meeting among a raw people, with their minister. This gathering was large, and at the close, the minister asked me, in the hearing of his congregation, divers questions, which I endeavoured to answer

with meekness, and he expressed satisfaction therewith. His questions were, what account we could give for our silent sitting in meetings; and what was our opinion respecting justification. He was about eighty years of age, and I hope an innocent man, for he spake with coolness and charity. We left them in a loving state of mind, and I trust there will be an open door for Friends among them. I believe there were but two persons at this place who had ever been at a meeting of this kind before. The company behaved better than might be expected.

17th. We had a meeting at Plymouth, in the court house; the chief justice and states' attorney, on being applied to for the house, as they were then holding a court, assured us by a messenger, that if they did not conclude the business by the time we wished to have the meeting, they would adjourn the court to some other place, to accommodate us. They appeared universally well affected toward our society. The judge was present at the meeting, and divers lawyers, with the people of the town, and were remarkably solid. We had a good meeting, for which I was humbly thankful. This evening, we reached Smith Brown's, at Pembroke.

18th. We had a large and favoured meeting at Pembroke. Dined at the house of John Bailey, and had a meeting there in the evening. Moved forward next day to Boston, which we reached about two o'clock, and took up our abode with the maiden sisters, Ann and Hannah Yorick. Appointed a meeting in Boston to be held on the 20th, which we attended, then went to Lynn, and were at their week-day meeting. The day following, were at Salem

week-day meeting; and in the afternoon visited several families.

On the 23rd, was at an appointed meeting at Lynn, which was large, and favoured, I humbly hope, with the Master's presence. Next day went to Boston, and was at two meetings the day following, being first-day. Elias Hicks being on his way to Boston, met us at Salem, and had appointed a meeting to be held in Boston on the 26th, at eleven o'clock; but being indisposed, I could not, without too great fatigue, attend it; as I had appointed two meetings the same day, one for the black people, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and another for the labouring poor, to begin at six o'clock in the evening. These meetings were very large, the house not being roomy enough to hold the people; for there were, I believe, as many white people as black there, the greatest part of which, perhaps, did not get into the house. I was afraid about the evening meeting, lest the rude boys and people might disturb us; but taking the proper precaution, they were very solid and attentive.

On the 27th, we went to the Castle, and had a meeting among the soldiers of the garrison, stationed there, and the convicts placed under their charge for safety; they keep them close to work. We had a solemn, good meeting with them; the officers receiving us with openness, manifested great kindness, and expressed their satisfaction with the opportunity. The convicts were drawn up under a strong guard, and marched to the meeting-house, and some poor creatures among them were in chains. The soldiers sat down before them, all accoutred with their arms, and even bayonets fixed to

their guns,—yet they appeared solid and reverent; some of them, as well as some of the officers, were tendered, and some of the poor convicts were so reached as to shed tears. I informed them that it was not agreeable to my principles, nor inclination, to upbraid them with their crimes, but to warn them to repentance, and to endeavour to seek for mercy with the Almighty, before the day of visitation passed over, when there would be no more sacrifice for sin. I also told them, that I truly commiserated their condition; but that to be freed from the bondage of the enemy of their souls, was a matter of the greatest concernment they could be engaged in. And after showing, according to my sense at that time, how they had fallen into temptation, and so into manifold greater evils, until they had committed crimes shocking to human nature,—and by what means they might have escaped,—I reminded them of Hazael, whom the prophet informed of the condemnation he should fall under for want of watchful obedience, who then appeared to abhor the prospect of such atrocious deeds as he afterwards committed, and replied, “Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?”

Some of these poor creatures had been convicted of very capital offences, and were sentenced there for life; and some for a number of years, or months, according to their several crimes. The latter I entreated, when way should open for their liberation from that state of confinement, to seek after strength to resist the devil in all his assaults, when fresh temptations might be presented;—and all, to improve the time allotted to them, in the lengthened out mercy of the Almighty. I also spoke of judgment to come,

on the disobedient; and was thankful for this opportunity, being largely drawn forth in gospel love towards them. Our dear friend, Mary Mitchell, was there, with divers solid Friends, among whom was William Rotch, jun., who met us in Boston. Mary was favoured to impart her feelings among them likewise. I may further remark, that a great man in Boston who supplies the convicts, and perhaps the garrison, with provisions, and who has in return the labour of the convicts in their different mechanical employments,—freely gave up their time to receive the benefit of this religious opportunity: which friendly act we acknowledged.

28th. We left Boston, and that evening reached Nathan Davis's, at Long Plain, where we lodged. It being their week-day meeting next day, we stayed to attend it, and sent word to Rochester to have a meeting appointed for us the day following, at the tenth hour.

30th. Were at Rochester, among the poor scattered flock of Benjamin Bumfus, whom we found to be as in a waste, howling wilderness, and settled down, I believe, generally unconcerned about it.—Way opened for me, though in weakness, to impart my feelings among them. After this meeting, we went with our kind friend William Rotch, jun., to New Bedford, where I was desirous of staying several days to rest, and renew my strength.

I attended their meeting at New Bedford on first day, being the 1st of 9th month; and the next day, several Friends accompanied me to the town of Rochester, where we had a large, solid meeting.—Lodged at the house of our kind friend Nathan Davis. 3rd. Went to see several families, and paid

a visit to Timothy Davis and his family. In a solid opportunity with them, I relieved my mind of an exercise I had been under, on account of the separate meeting which they held at that place; then took my leave. James Davis, brother of Timothy, accompanied us to Freetown, where we had a meeting the next day. 5th. Had a meeting at Swanzey, which was large and solemn. This evening reached the house of Preserved Brayton, where we proposed lodging. His wife Patience, having been in our land a few years before, we were glad to meet. Both herself and husband were weakly. We had a religious opportunity with their son. Patience accompanied us therein, and was much favoured in testimony and supplication.

On the 6th, we reached Moses Brown's, at Providence, where I staid to rest till first-day, and attended the two meetings held in Friends' meeting house at that place, in silence. Our friend, Mary Mitchell, was with us, having arrived the evening before. A meeting being appointed in a neighbourhood of Presbyterians, at Rehoboth, I attended it, next day, with my dear friend Mary Mitchell. She had acceptable service, but I was silent.

10th. Being much indisposed, I could attend but one sitting of the meeting for sufferings, held at Providence, and it concluded at the next; on the 11th, I set out with my companion, and Mary Mitchell and Obadiah Brown, to Lower Smithfield, and attended their week-day meeting, which was held in silence. Then proceeded to Upper Smithfield, and next day, was at their week-day meeting, which was large, and I trust, favoured with the Divine presence. After which we returned to

Lower Smithfield, to attend a meeting to be held there on the 13th, in which I was silent. After this meeting we went to Providence, and on seventh-day had another meeting at Rehoboth. The people were too light, yet several of the elderly class were tender. Lodged at our kind friend Moses Brown's.

Were at their two meetings at Providence on first-day, and next day went as far as Elisha Thornton's. On the 17th he accompanied us to Uxbridge, where we had a good meeting among a large number of Friends and others. Called to see Benedict Arnold on our return, and lodging again at Elisha Thornton's, rode the next day to the meeting at Lower Smithfield, about eleven and a half miles. Here I was enabled to relieve my mind, and returned again to Moses Brown's, much indisposed. On the 19th, was at their week-day meeting at Providence, which was large, divers of other professions being there; but I was silent therein. This evening, was at a good meeting appointed at Pawtucket, four miles from Providence. Mary Brown, the wife of Moses, was with us here, and went on to Cranston next day, where we parted. This afternoon, we had a large, quiet meeting at Greenwich. It fell to my lot to be silent at both these meetings; but Mary Mitchell had something suitable and pertinent to express among the people. An evidence of being in my place was sufficient for me, with resignation to the Divine will, whether I had any thing to communicate or not; for I was made sensible that in many places the minds of the people were too much afloat.

21st. Being very poorly, and the weather moist, I concluded it would be best to keep house, and

Mary Mitchell also being with us, we staid at Daniel Howland's till first-day, and attended their meeting at Greenwich. After dinner, we moved on toward Wickford, where we had a good meeting at the house of Benjamin Reynolds, among various professors who behaved with seriousness.

On the 23rd, with our beloved friend, M. Mitchell, we embarked for Newport, which we reached in the afternoon of the same day, and lodged at the house of our dear friend, Thomas Robinson, where, being much indisposed, I was affectionately nursed by them for some time.

7th of 10th mo. Set out with a number of Friends for Providence. I was at five meetings, while on the island this time, though often under much pain and bodily weakness. Lodged at Moses Brown's, and rested till the day following at two o'clock, when we removed to Wainsoaket, and staid their Quarterly meeting, which was large and favoured. On our return, had a meeting at Pawtucket, and was also at two meetings at Providence, though I was very much indisposed during the whole of this last short journey. Returned to our kind friend, T. Robinson's, and remained poorly there several days. On first-day, the 20th, attended their two meetings at Newport, and the fifth-day following, their week-day meeting. Next day, being the 25th, we left Newport and went to the Narragansett country. Called to see Thomas Hazard's family, and dined with them—then got to William Peckham's to lodge.

26th. Left William's, and proposed moving homeward; but before we had gone eight miles forward, I became so uneasy that I was obliged to return to

the friend's house where we had lodged the preceding night, as I saw clearly that I must be at their meeting, called South Kingston, the next day. 27th. We attended the said meeting to satisfaction, and had also a meeting at William Peckham's, in the afternoon. On the 28th, were at their monthly meeting. Next day, at Lower South Kingston—the day following, at Richmond—and on the 31st, at Hopkinton. 1st of 11th month, we had a meeting at Westerly, and another at Pockatuck Bridge. Next day, we attended a meeting at Stonington Point, in Connecticut; and went thence to Jeremiah Browning's, eleven miles from Stonington. He and his wife had been lately convinced of Friends' principles, and we had a meeting at their house. The day following, had a meeting at an Indian settlement, and in the evening arrived at Richard Smith's. He had been formerly an adherent of Jemima Wilkinson; but getting to see through her deception, he returned, to the satisfaction of his friends; but his poor daughter continued with Jemima till her death. Richard was about ninety years of age, lively in his faculties, and in a state of much innocence. On the 5th of the month, after a sitting with the family, we proceeded to Groton Ferry, where we lodged.

Next day, had a meeting in the town of Groton, and had also a meeting appointed in the court-house at New London. On the 6th, crossed the river Thames, and attended it. Lodged this night at the house of George Sheffield, a friendly man, with whom we had a religious opportunity next morning. He desired we might recommend our friends who might travel that way, to him, as he would be glad

to entertain them. He professed a love for the society, and would not receive any thing for our fare.

Passed through Seabrook, and reached Guilford on the 8th, where we continued till the second day following, and had four meetings. On the 11th, we proceeded to Wallingford and had a meeting, which was large, and I hope, satisfactory. Next day, went to Waterbury, and appointed a meeting among them. 13th. Proceeded to Litchfield, and lodged at David Burrill's inn. He was a hospitable man, and we employed him to procure a place to hold a meeting in, and spread information among the people of the town. In the interim, our time was employed in having meetings in and about Goshen, where is a small settlement of Friends. We had two meetings at their school-house, some miles distant, also one at a private house. And when the time came to attend the meeting at Litchfield, we went thither.—The meeting being appointed at six o'clock in the evening, the priest of the parish gave information to his congregation at the close of their meeting, and attended with them about half an hour before the time. When we had sat, as I supposed, about an hour, in as much silence as we could attain to, (for there was much interruption, through talking, laughing, whispering, &c.) some of the leading characters called on the priest to answer for his conduct,—that he had informed them, that a sermon was to be preached by the people called Quakers, in that house, at six o'clock;—and they had sat a full hour, and nothing had yet been said, and they could not bear it;—for if there was to be no sermon they could go home, and be engaged in silent meditation in their own houses. This man was joined by divers

others, who expressed something of the like kind: and several called out to their priest, to make a prayer, or direct a psalm to be sung, for they could not sit any longer in that manner.

I was much exercised on account of the people, and rose, entreating them to be still, and possess themselves in patience. The priest went out of his pulpit to the seats of his deacons, to consult them about what he had better do. Feeling a word to arise in my heart, I got up with it, and was much enlarged on the subject of true silence, as a preparation for the solemn worship of the Almighty; and was led to open our doctrines and principles among them. I trust we had, at length, a favoured time together. The meeting was larger than it had been known to be, for a long time, on any occasion; and was the first that was ever appointed among them by a member of our society. They observed great stillness and attention while I was speaking; and when I sat down, the priest came to us to know whether there would be any more service at that time; whether a prayer, psalm, or hymn,—or if any thing more would be said. I was very sensible that he was afraid of the people, if they should sit one minute still, lest they should call on him again. We made no reply to him; but after a little while, were easy to break up the meeting. I then told the people, the service of the meeting was over, and took an affectionate leave of them. The priest was very respectful towards us, assuring us he would be glad to take us home with him, but that several of his family were sick.

Thus we parted, and went to our inn. Divers sober people coming to see us, apologized for the

disorder which had appeared in the meeting. I was thankful, under all circumstances, that we had been with them; and was told by our innkeeper, that he understood the meeting was universally satisfactory, as far as he could gain knowledge of the minds of the people. Next day, being stormy, we were detained at the inn, at Litchfield.

19th. Went to Milford-town, and had a meeting there. Next day, were at Friends' meeting, southwest of the river, and that evening reached the Branch, where we had a meeting. While at New Milford, we lodged at the house of Dobson Wheeler;—his ancient wife Hannah was still lively in her faculties, and an innocent woman. After the meeting at Branch, we went to Poquage—had an appointed meeting there next day, and went home with Peter Lawson; at whose house we had a meeting in the afternoon; which was large, and I believe, satisfactory—being a time of precious visitation to some minds present, as was likewise the case in the morning meeting.

23rd. My dear friend, Peter Lawson, accompanied us to Oblong. We called to see Matthew Ferris and family, where we were refreshed, and lodged at Isaac Osburn's. Next day, attended Oblong meeting, which was large, but a laborious time. In the afternoon, rode four miles towards the Branch, and had a meeting at a house where there was a corpse of a woman, who died suddenly. It was a large gathering;—the people appeared solid and thoughtful, and I trust, it was a good season to some. Here I parted with my beloved friend, P. Lawson, and returned with my companion, T. W., to Isaac Osburn's, who had proposed accompanying us to the

Valley, where we had a meeting appointed, and which we attended next day—and the day following, had a meeting at Peach Pond. Were at Amawalk on the 27th, and at Shappaqua, the 28th. Next morning, we reached Robert Reynolds's, where we had a meeting, and in the evening, arrived at Anthony Tripp's—he and his wife were an aged couple, and we had a meeting there next day.

1st of the 12th month, were at Purchase meeting in the morning, and had a meeting in the afternoon at the court-house, at White Plains. On the 2nd, were at Mamaroneck, and called to see Hugh Judge. Lodged at James Mott's, and next day had a meeting at Westchester. Got this evening to our kind friend, Henry Haydock's, at New York, and the day following was their monthly meeting, which I attended, and visited a few friends in the afternoon. Lodged at my brother-in-law's, A. S., and about noon, on the 5th, crossed the North River to Powles Hook, and was enabled to reach Rahway in the evening. 6th. My kind friend, Hugh David, accompanied me to Robert White's, near Princeton, and the next day being rainy and unpleasant, and being somewhat indisposed, I concluded to stay with our kind friends, R. and H. White. Next morning, they went with me to Trenton meeting, and the Quarterly meeting having appointed a meeting for the black people at two o'clock this afternoon, I attended that also. Being very poorly at my kind friend, Isaac Collins's, that night, I was not able to reach further the next day than William Biles's, on the west side of Delaware river. Next day, I reached home, and found my dear wife and children well, which is cause of thankfulness to the Author of every mercy.

Notes of a Journey to the Southern States.

I left home the 8th of 11th month, 1795, and was at Byberry meeting. Then went on and attended meetings at Philadelphia, Darby, Wilmington, and the Quarterly meeting held at London Grove.—Thence to West Grove, New Garden, Sadsbury, Lampeter, and Lancaster, at which last place I had two meetings. Crossed the Susquehanna, and had three meetings at York-town, also visited their families. Then had meetings at Newberry, Warrington, Huntington and Monallen. Also at Tuscarora, Martensburg, Middle Creek, Berkely, Shepherds-town, and Charlestown. Thence to Hopewell, Back Creek, Ridge, and again at Hopewell Quarterly and Youth's meetings. We then had a meeting at James Bruce's, and visited several families in the neighbourhood. After which were at Winchester, Centre, Mount Pleasant and Crooked Run, and so on to Stovers-town, Millers-town, Smith's Creek, New Market, and Evan Thomas's. We also visited D. Dickinson and wife, near Rock-town, and were at Lynchburg and South River meetings.

1st. mo. 6th, 1796. Set out from Seneka and went to Hill's Creek, South River, Goose Creek lower meeting, and several other places—then to Upper Goose Creek; and on the 15th, rode to Otter river, where we had a meeting. Then crossing said river, we swam our horses by a canoe; we also crossed Flat Creek, which was troublesome and difficult, and got to Micajah Davis's, John Coffee being our pilot. 17th. Had a meeting at Micajah's house. Next day the river Stanton which we had to pass, was so high over its banks that we were detained till the 19th,

and then crossed with much difficulty and some danger; but through Divine favour, landed safe at George West's. The next day we rode with considerable difficulty and danger on account of the waters which we had to pass through, being so deep by reason of the rains which fell the night previous. The trees also were loaded with ice, and many heavy limbs fell on every hand, both from dead and living trees, which, had we been under them, might have crushed us and our horses. But the Lord in mercy preserved us. This evening we reached the widow Hendricks's, who, with her affectionate daughters, kindly received us. On the 21st, we had a meeting at her house, and next day reached Obadiah Kirby's, southward of Dan river, where we had a meeting the same evening.

On the 23rd of 1st month, we had a difficult journey across the country to Eno, which we reached about eight o'clock in the evening—and next day being first-day, were at Friends' meeting there. In the afternoon, crossed Eno and Haw rivers, and got to Jonathan Lindley's. Attended Spring meeting, and proceeded to Cane Creek meeting, seven miles further. On the 27th were at meeting at Rocky river, next day at Sandy Creek, and the day following at Providence, after which we went to Enoch Macey's, a Nantucket Friend. 30th. Were at New Garden monthly meeting, and the next day being first-day, were at the same place. Thence went to Deep River, and were at monthly meeting there on second-day, the 1st of 2nd month. Ann Jessop also was there, and returned with us that evening to Timothy Russell's, who, with his kind wife, went with us to Hopewell meeting. After which we went on to William Starbuck's,

Thence, we went on and had meetings at Dover, Blues Creek, and Muddy Creek, and were at Springfield monthly meeting. Called to see David Brooks, and got to Matthew Coffin's to lodge. On first-day, the 7th, were at Springfield meeting, and dined at Isaac Mendenhall's, where were an aged couple, each of them more than fourscore, who had lived together sixty years, and their faculties were yet lively and strong. Nathan Hunt, son of William, accompanied us six miles to his house, where we lodged.

On second-day, the 8th, we attended a meeting appointed at Piny Woods. In the evening we met with John Wigham, to our mutual rejoicing. Next day we were at meeting together at Marlborough; to my mind it was an instructive season. Here John Wigham left us, and went on to Providence. On the 10th, we attended their week-day meeting at Back Creek, and taking meetings on our way, reached the Quarterly meeting at Centre—after which we were at Holly Spring, Tyson's meeting, Mofet's, and reached Jesse Wilson's in the evening, accompanied by David Vestal, an old man, who rode forty miles that day, and attended the last named meeting. 20th of the month, reached our pleasant quarters at Timothy Russell's, and next day was again in company with John Wigham at New Garden meeting. 22nd. Was at Sherburne, and next day, in company with John Wigham, had a meeting with the people called Nicholites. The day following at Muddy Creek, and 25th at Blues Creek. Lodged at Paul Starbuck's, and had the third precious opportunity with his family. Still in company with our dear friend John Wigham, we at-

tended the monthly meeting at New Garden, and laid before it a concern to visit the families of New Garden particular meeting, which we entered on first-day after meeting. Visited about eighty families, and attended meetings as they came in course. On the 10th of the 3rd month, reached Joel Saunders's, in order to attend the Quarterly meeting for New Garden, held at Deep River—first the select, next day the general Quarter, and the day following a meeting called the Youth's meeting.

The following letter to a friend in Pennsylvania, was written from this place.

Deep River, 3d mo. 11th, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am thankful my mind hath been often engaged in near sympathy with thee, under my late arduous embassy, which hath frequently appeared to be a trying path. But I find it best to endeavour to do what little I can, if I can only obtain a single mite to cast into the treasury. We have deep wading sometimes; but it is a mercy inexpressible, when made willing to suffer with the seed; for as we abide faithful, when it reigns we shall reign also.

Many are the raw, inexperienced, uninformed youths in this land of Carolina, which we entered five or six weeks ago, after taking meetings through the back parts of Virginia; and since we arrived at New Garden, have performed a visit, in company with our dear friend, John Wigham, to the families of Friends of New Garden particular meeting, which we accomplished the day before yesterday, about eighty in number; and this day have attended the Quarterly meeting for New Garden held at this

place. I trust the great Shepherd of Israel was with us; for which favour, I desire to bow, as in my tent-door,—for the work is altogether his,—the power and the glory also. Pray for me, that I may endure the field, and also hardness, as a good soldier. I believe I have felt my heart bound to the precious immortal cause; and as long as our blessed Captain and Leader goes before, and salutes his little flock with the endearing language, “Be of good cheer,” and draws with the drawing cords of his love, may we run after him, and hope in the accomplishment of the warfare. Yet my steps are slow; Oh! may they be sure, and in the way of holiness too, and the excellency of the creature always in the dust.

I gave a hint respecting the dear young people, who labour under many and great disadvantages. And yet the forming hand is laid upon some of them, who are acquainted with retirement and true stillness. My prayers are for them, that they may move in a holy stability, attending to the tender scruples which the Lord hath been pleased to raise in their minds; then will that gracious declaration be fulfilled in them; “This people have I formed for myself—they shall show forth my praise.”

I feel nearly for my dear friends with you, and in my own neighbourhood. I believe the Lord hath arisen in both places, and by his holy quickening life re-animated some afresh for service. I desire they, with myself, may walk worthy of all his blessings and favours, which, to my humbling admiration, have been multiplied.

And now, dear friend, I entreat thee not to be cast down when the true spiritual bread seems scarce, and even when permitted to feel as though the Di-

vine presence was veiled. For the Lord is the strength of his people, and his ear is open to their prayers when these gracious words proceed out of his mouth, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." In those dispensations, however closely proving, the immortal life in us is nurtured. I know I am writing to one of larger experience than myself, though I am sure my sympathy has often been great toward thee, when thou hast been ready to utter this language, "Is there any sorrow like unto my sorrow?" May a holy tranquillity rest upon thy mind: and, dear friend, be encouraged to sit down with the little flock under thy charge: for the goodness of Him that dwelt in the bush is near, and he watches over you to do you good.

I have been occupying my time in various services, since coming to Carolina:—have visited all the meetings of Cane Creek Quarter, and most of those belonging to New Garden. In a day or two I expect to move forward, in company with dear John Wigham, and my beloved companion James Emlen, towards Westfield, Deep Creek, and some other meetings, far distant from here. I cannot yet see when I may be allowed to look homeward, as it will take several hundred miles riding to visit the few meetings yet remaining of this Quarter. Whether I may go to South Carolina is uncertain.

Tell my beloved little daughter, that I think of her every day, and of all my children, and I much desire they may be good. Oh! that my dear daughter may mind strictly that precious principle of Truth in her own heart, and do nothing to grieve it.

I am, with near love, thy truly affectionate friend,

PETER YARNALL.

We next visited the families of Muddy Creek meeting, about thirty-five in number; then proceeded to Deep Creek and Hunting Creek, where we had meetings. On the 28th of 3rd month, we were at Westfield. 30th. Had a meeting at Chesnut Creek, and one next day at Reedy Island. Thence to Berks, and Ward's Gap, and called to see Jacob Talbot's family. On the 3rd of 4th month, were at Westfield meeting by appointment. We then went on to Limestone; having crossed Holstein river divers times, and also the Watoga river. On the 9th got to Peter Dillon's at Nole Chucky, it being on those waters. Staid their first-day meeting on the 10th, then went on to Lost Creek, and were at their week-day meeting the 13th. Next day went to a small settlement of Friends near Knoxville, and had a meeting. 15th. Were at a meeting at Knoxville—it was court time, and the general assembly had been sitting, but adjourned, as we understood, to accommodate us with their room to hold meeting in; but it was too small, and we held it in the shade before the house. While I was speaking, the meeting was much disturbed by the court being called, and the jurymen being with us, had to retire from the meeting.

On the 16th, were at a meeting at Thomas Marshall's, and on first-day were at Lost Creek meeting—had also an afternoon meeting at Mordecai Mendenhall's, and another next day at John Kenned's. 19th. Had a meeting in a neighbourhood near William Parke's, and next day, one at Greene, where we met with Ellis Ellis, and went home with him. 22nd. Had a meeting with Friends almost select, at Limestone, at the house of Abraham Smith.

Next day, had a meeting at Jonesborough, a village about four miles off. Then taking meetings at sundry places, we reached William Jessop's at Westfield, and were at meeting there on first-day, the 1st of 5th month, thence to Blues Creek, New Garden, Sherburne, Cane Creek, Fayetteville, Contentney, and Holly Spring. We then went on to Jack Swamp, Enfield Court House, and on the 20th of 5th month, reached Blackwater in Virginia: the Yearly Meeting being held there this year. Here we met our aged friend Zachariah Ferris, and his companion Robert Johnson, with many other friends that I knew. On first-day attended two meetings. On second-day, was a public meeting for worship, and at the close thereof, the meeting for discipline on the affairs of society, commenced; but I was unable to attend the first sitting, although I was favoured to sit all the others, being five in number. On the 25th, rode to Western Branch. It was a rainy time, and the waters deep. We attended their preparative meeting next day, and the day following, their monthly meeting; then went on to Suffolk, and had a meeting in the court house. We then went on our journey toward the lower parts of North Carolina, and on the 30th of the month got to Axiom Newby's, at Piney Woods. Next day had a meeting there in the morning, and another in the afternoon at Beach Spring.

6th month 1st. Rode with our kind friends, Axiom Newby and wife, to Wills' meeting. After which we went to Sutton's, and attended their meeting. Lodged at the house of Benjamin Albertson, and visited Chalkley Albertson's wife. Had a meeting at Little River on the 3rd, then one at the Narrows, and another at New-begun-creek on first-

day morning, also one at Nixontown, in the afternoon. On the 6th, had a meeting at Symons Creek, the place where the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina is alternately held. Next had meetings at Edenton, William Baker's, Somerton, Portsmouth and Norfolk—after which had a large meeting at Bennet's Creek. On the 16th, were at Black Creek, next day were at Stanton in the morning, and at Seaconk in the afternoon. We then attended the monthly meeting at Blackwater, and felt concerned to appoint a meeting there for the black people, on first-day afternoon. On the 23rd, were at Burleigh meeting, next at Gravelly Run and Petersburg.—Had another meeting there in the evening, to which came more of the poorer class of the people.

On the 25th of 6th month, went to Robert Pleasant's, and next day had a meeting in the state house at Richmond. 27th, at Curles, and staid two nights at James Ladd's. 28th, were at Wain Oak, and next day at Black Creek. On the 30th, had two meetings, one in the town of Manchester, on the south side of James river, opposite Richmond, and one at Richmond in the evening. On first-day, the 3rd of 7th month, attended meeting near Thomas Pleasant's, and on the 5th, were at Cedar Creek. Thence taking meetings at Caroline, Southland, South Fork, Goose Creek, and Short Hills, we reached Mahlon Janney's in the evening, and were at Fairfax meeting on fourth-day, and also the day following; likewise had a meeting at Leesburgh in the evening. On sixth-day, had a meeting at Joseph Lacy's, and reached William Hartshorne's, near Alexandria, on the 16th of 7th month.

Next day attended three meetings in Alexandria,

the last for the black people, very large. We also visited a number of families, and on the 18th, went to Evan Thomas's, where we had a meeting the next day, and on the 20th, were at Sandy Spring. Next had meetings at Indian Spring, Annapolis, and West River. 25th, had a meeting at a chapel called Prince George's, and that evening a meeting at Elisha Hopkins's, Indian Spring. 26th, had a meeting at Ellicott's Mills, and next day one at Elk Ridge; then went on to Baltimore, and had a meeting among Friends in their meeting house, and one for other societies at six o'clock in the evening.— But not feeling my mind relieved, I had a conference with Friends about another meeting in a more central part of the town, for people of other societies. The meeting was intended to be appointed in the evening of the 29th,—but my concern being more particularly on account of such as were attending the plays, and there being one acted that evening, the object seemed to be defeated, and I left Baltimore without having the meeting, which occasioned some heaviness of heart.

We then went on to Gunpowder, and to see the widow Matthews. On first-day were at meeting there, and at Little Falls on the 1st of the 8th mo. Next day got to William Jackson's at West Grove, in Chester county; then attended New Garden meeting, and reached Wilmington that evening—where next day we had a meeting. 6th. Got to select meeting at Concord, and that evening reached my brother-in-law, Joshua Sharpless's. Had meetings at Birmingham, and West Chester court house; also attended the meeting for discipline, and youth's meeting at Concord; also the monthly meeting at

Wilmington, and on sixth-day was at a meeting at Marcus Hook,—next day at Chester. Attended a funeral at Darby, and were at their two meetings on first-day. Next day reached Philadelphia, and staid several days attending meetings for worship, and on Indian affairs. Thence home the 21st of 8th month, 1796.

In this southern journey, I travelled about three thousand five hundred and forty miles, and attended about two hundred and twelve meetings.

Of his last religious visit in New Jersey, we find only the following short account in a letter to his wife, dated 10th mo. 29th, 1797.

DEARLY BELOVED,

I have been wanting to write to thee, to give thee some account of our movements. When we got to Dunks's ferry, we met with a boat that took us in directly; and we had a pleasant time crossing over the river. After spending a pleasant evening with dear Samuel Emlen, at his son's, and half an hour, perhaps, at John Hoskins's, we lodged at Nathaniel Coleman's, in Burlington. Next morning Samuel took breakfast with us at our lodgings, and we visited that poor, afflicted woman, Hannah More, at her sister M. Morris's. We staid meeting at Burlington, which was a truly precious, strengthening time. After meeting, had a comfortable season with Mary Barker, confined in her chamber, and much weaker than when I saw her before. After dinner, we proceeded to Peter Ellis's, who took John Spencer and myself in his wagon, next day, very pleasantly, to Shrewsbury. Lodged

at Richard Lawrence's, and attended their Quarterly meeting on seventh-day, also the general meeting on first-day. Rebekah Wright was there. These meetings were favoured seasons.

After leaving Shrewsbury, we were at Squan on second-day, at Squankum on third-day. Next day rode to Barnegat, and on fifth-day had a meeting there. The day following had a precious meeting at Little Egg-harbour. We were affectionately received by Samuel Shore and wife, choice young Friends, at whose house we lodged. That evening we reached Joseph Walker's iron works, and had a meeting there with his people, to our satisfaction. Next day rode to the Mount, taking New Mills in the way, where we dined at John Lacy's, and had a religious opportunity in his family. On first-day, were at the Mount meeting, and in the afternoon had a meeting at Mansfield, which was a truly precious season. I desire to bear in remembrance the Lord's goodness to us. We have been favoured with a good degree of health through all the visit thus far, and a more pleasant journey I have not remembered. I did not feel in the least tired after coming to Peter Ellis's, though we had two meetings the day previous, seven miles apart. In the evening, had a precious opportunity in Peter's family.

We have meetings appointed, to-morrow afternoon, at Mount Holly,—third-day, at Ancocas,—fourth-day, at Upper Springfield,—and fifth-day, at Lower Springfield. Have not seen whether we shall be, on sixth-day, at Cropwell or Haddonfield.

I am, with near love and affection to thyself and the family, thine in the Lord,

PETER YARNALL.

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 7.]

SIXTH MONTH, 1832.

[Vol. II.

SOME ACCOUNT

Of the life and religious experience of Ruth Anna Rutter, of Potts-town, Pennsylvania, afterwards Ruth Anna Lindley, wife of Jacob Lindley, of Chester county.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

I trust it is under a degree of the influence of the blessed Truth, that I now take up my pen, in order to commemorate the tender dealings of an Almighty and most merciful Father towards me, in the morning of my day; that if I am continued in this vale of mortality to future years, my heart may be reverently bowed in gratitude, in taking a little retrospect thereof.

It pleased my Heavenly Father to incline my heart to seek him from my infancy; and about the fourteenth year of my age I was favoured with a remarkable visitation, the beginning of which I was thus made sensible of: One day, being much interested in a little piece of work, and confining myself to my chamber, many serious reflections presented themselves. In the evening, sitting in the parlour with my parents, brothers, and sisters, I burst into tears; and all leaving the room, except my dear mother, she asked the occasion of my uneasiness. I told her I was just thinking, if it should please the

Almighty to call me before the light of another day, whether I was in a fit situation to appear before his great Majesty? She spoke suitably to me, and said she made no doubt if I sought properly to be rendered worthy an inheritance in the kingdom, I should gain it. But I felt great distress that night; and my concern continued for some time.

One evening, being left alone with my dear mother, and having some desire of improvement, I asked her what books would be suitable for me to read? She answered, "there is none more suitable than the Bible." This reply affected me; and she took that opportunity of querying with me, what society I thought I should join? I told her, I believed I should be a Quaker. Indeed, I saw it clearly to be my duty to leave off several of my flounces and superfluous things; and felt peace in giving up thereto: but through unwatchfulness, I lost ground, and became again captivated and ensnared in the vain fashions and customs of the world. My sister being about to accomplish her marriage, several new things were provided for me, on the occasion. I put on a cushion, and dressed in the most fashionable style for girls of my age. I joined in all the levity and mirth that was going forward, and was at times much elated. But alas! that innocence, and calm serenity of mind, with which I had been favoured while I lived in the cross to my natural inclination, was no longer in my possession. Every enjoyment carried with it a sting, and I felt a void which I cannot express; but which, no doubt, proceeded from the absence of my Beloved. Nevertheless, I pursued a gay line of life, till turned of seventeen; though I had often to recur to that season, wherein

I was favoured with religious thoughtfulness, and in secret lamented my situation.

In the fall preceding the change in my dress, my sister invited me to spend the winter with her, in order to introduce me into company. I accordingly went, and frequented the dancing assemblies, theatre, and all places of amusement that were usual.— I also learned music, having a master to attend me; and made great proficiency therein, as I had a natural ear, and uncommon fondness for it. I promised myself much pleasure, and thought it would fill up many vacant hours which I should have in the country; for, from the sensations that often attended my mind, I thought I should not long continue in the circle I was then in.

Through the course of the winter, I have since though I was under a very tender visitation of Divine love; though at that time I knew it not. My mind was, at seasons, so absorbed, that when paying formal visits, and surrounded with company, I scarce knew what passed, and but few expressions escaped my lips; so that my friends would often tell me I was extremely silent, and laugh at me for it. And indeed, I was, at times, almost ready to conclude there was a great degree of insensibility in me, and a natural uneasiness of disposition; for, notwithstanding no exertion of my friends, nor expense of my parents was spared, to render every thing agreeable to me, I was not happy. When under the hands of the hair-dresser, tears would stream from my eyes, though I could not tell the cause: but doubtless it was the cords of thy divine love, O my Beloved! operating in me, in order that I might become wholly thine!

I well remember, one afternoon, being engaged upon a large party, I went up stairs to dress, and sat before the glass, attempting to crape my hair; but not considering what I was about, being in deep thought, it grew late, and I was hurried; and not readily finding some of my finery which I wanted to put on, it fluttered me, and I felt myself entangled in those things; which gave me much pain and anxiety without knowing where to seek relief. I threw myself on the bed in great agony of mind, and gave vent to many tears: but after some time I arose, went down stairs, and made excuse to my sister, who expected to see me in full dress. But truly my mind was not in a fit condition to join a large company; though I strove to hide the real cause.— At another time, going with some company to see a pantomime performed, my mind was so abstracted from the objects around me, that I could pay no attention to the scene, but felt a dejection and distress not easily to be conceived.

The last ball I attended was given by some young men of my acquaintance; my sister had a dance the preceding evening, at her own house; and I, being much fatigued, wished to have excused myself from going to the ball; but it being a set company, and my friends pressing me to go, I yielded and went; but had not danced more than two or three dances, before I again felt deep distress and dismay to cover my mind. I called my brother, and told him I was not well; desiring him to call one of the servants who were in waiting, to go home with me, as I wished to leave the room unobserved; which he accordingly did; and my sister expressing her surprise at

my quick return, I pleaded indisposition, and went to bed.

Soon after this, I lost an uncle; and he dying suddenly, it greatly shocked and affected me. The next first-day evening, being the time of the Spring meeting, and an evening meeting being held at Pine street, a connexion of mine asked me to go there with her. I had frequently, in the course of the winter, gone in there, when my sister would go on to church (we lived but two doors from the meeting house.) She and her husband would sometimes smile, and tell me they believed I intended to be a Quaker. I did not know it would so soon be the case, but I felt a secret satisfaction in attending their meetings. I generally sat near the door, or in the back part of the house, lest my appearance should attract their attention. In the evening above alluded to, we had not sat long before a Friend got up and spoke; and as he was rather tedious, my companion soon got tired and proposed going; but I chose to stay, and she left me. After some time, dear Daniel Offley appeared largely in testimony. He mentioned the prospect he had of some youth then present having a great work to do; and spoke so clearly to my state that I was much struck with it; but knew not at that time it was intended for me; and thought how deeply those must feel for whom it was meant.— But although I did not, at that time, take it to myself, I had afterwards cause to remember that solemn testimony, and it was a strength to me.

About the middle of the fourth month, I returned home; and soon after was invited to attend a wedding; and, being again in a very thoughtless state, I was pleased with the thoughts of having the op-

portunity to display my fine clothes. A few nights before the wedding I had a dream which made considerable impression upon my mind; and the next day, sitting with a near connexion with whom I was very intimate, I related it to her; and told her I believed there would shortly be a death in the family. While we were conversing together, there seemed to be a cloud or mist which overshadowed me, and I felt as if I was raised off the chair. I believe I was at the moment, insensible to every thing around me; my countenance changed; and my cousin, in some surprise, asked me what was the matter. I told her I felt very strange; and burst into a flood of tears. When I a little recovered, I told her if nothing happened to myself, or in the family, never to mention the situation I had been in. My mind then became very awfully impressed with the thoughts of death and the necessity of being prepared. On the succeeding day I heard of the decease of a little cousin, who died of a short illness; and when we were assembled to attend the burial, two children out of one family were carried by the door, who both died of the same disease. All these things had a tendency deeply and awfully to impress my mind. I seemed in a state of amazement and distress, and was willing to deliver myself up to the Lord, but knew not what step to take: all was dark and gloomy before me. May I never forget the night I passed after that funeral; a thick veil of darkness seemed to cover me, and the terrors of an angry God encompassed me about. A near relation slept with me, who had taken a serious turn some time before; she spoke encouragingly to me; but alas! my mind was not in a fit state to receive it.

The next day my parents came home, having been absent some time; I shed abundance of tears, which they, not knowing the real cause, attributed to the deep sympathy I had for my afflicted relations.

The young woman whose wedding I had been invited to, was married according to appointment; but I felt no disposition to attend the marriage, being sorely distressed in mind. The day following, I paid her a morning visit, though I scarce knew where I was, or what I was about. For six weeks I experienced a state of deep conflict and exercise. My dress became very burdensome to me, and the fear of not having stability deterred me from changing it. In the course of that time, I spent a week with some Methodist relations. Their minister came while I was there, and I attended their meeting; with which I was much pleased, my mind being in a very tender state. They also invited me to attend their class-meeting, but I did not feel the same unity with that; however I believed them to be a seeking people, and became greatly attached to them, and thought I should join the society. But after my return home, still feeling some doubts, and not that peace and confirmation which, above all things, I desired,—at times, when a little strength was afforded, my prayers were put up in secret, that I might be rightly directed. But Oh! I knew not what to do, nor which way to turn myself, for peace of mind.

One day, being in great distress, my endeared mother came to the door of my chamber, and I opened it; she came in, and seeing my situation, she kneeled down, and prayed fervently for my preservation. At another time, she came to me in

my chamber, and I, being in great agony, threw my arms around her, and asked her what I should do. She told me there was no necessity for my being so greatly distressed, as I was young and innocent. But still, feeling my dress a very great burden to me, and through fear of running too fast, it greatly afflicted me; and one day being retired, I threw myself upon my knees, and took up the Bible which lay by the bed side, scarce knowing what I did, and opened upon this passage: "Put off thy ornaments that I may know what to do with thee." I also had a dream which further convinced me: I thought I was at the point of death, and there seemed no help for me; and being in great agony, I covenanted with the Almighty, that if he would spare me a little longer, there was nothing which he required of me but what I would give up to, through his grace assisting me; and that the remainder of my days should be dedicated to his service. Immediately after I made this covenant, I thought I saw myself recovered, and in a plain garb, very neat and simple.

Shortly after this, I attended a general meeting of Friends at Uwchlan, and preparatory thereto, as secretly as I could, I took the trimming off one of my plainest silk gowns, and cut off the trail. I had also a black bonnet made without much trimming, which I wore instead of my hat and feathers. There was a considerable number of young girls in company, going to the meeting; and I endeavoured to appear cheerful, but my heart was secretly engaged in cries to the Lord, that I might hear something that might be confirming to me; for I was then wavering whether or not I should join the Methodists. We accordingly went to meeting, and soon after I sat down, a deep exercise covered my spirit. After

some time, dear William Savery got up, and spoke so exactly to my state, that my heart was much broken, and my spirit contrited within me. We lodged that night at a friend's house, where dear William also was; who, with some other Friends, remarking our appearance to be in the gay line, wondered a little at our being there on such an occasion; but upon our telling them it was from a desire of attending the General meeting, they in a pleasant manner expressed their approbation, and spoke encouragingly to us.

After returning from this meeting, the weight and necessity of putting on a plain dress seemed to increase; and one evening, when most of the family were gone from home, I sent to the shop for some plain gauze, and, by candle light, with a darning needle, made a little round-eared cap. Next morning I arose early, but did not leave my chamber till the family had nearly all breakfasted,—being upon my knees, and earnestly petitioning to be rightly directed. After which, I felt most easy to leave off my cushion, and put on the cap I had made. When I went down stairs, my father and mother and a little nephew were sitting at the table; and as I entered the room, my father viewed me in a manner that somewhat affected me, so that I was obliged to retire a few minutes to give vent to my tears; in which time my father left the room, and I took my seat at the table. But a small portion of breakfast served. My little nephew fixed his eyes on me, in silent astonishment at the alteration. However, I was favoured to keep in a degree of quiet; although it was indeed a deep trial to me, to be thus exposed to the observation and remarks of my connexions

and acquaintances. But my dear sister and brothers continuing to treat me with their wonted respect and affection, my heart was, I trust, made measurably thankful. I laboured under a very heavy affliction from an inflammation in my eyes, occasioned by a cold, taken some time before I changed my dress, and from not taking the necessary care when I left off my cushion, it became fixed in my eye. My health also appearing to decline from the great exercise of my mind, my parents sent me to the Yellow Springs, where I spent some weeks. It happened to be the time of the harvest frolick; and being persuaded by some company that were there for their health, I went to see them dance. But oh! the distress of mind which I felt when entering the dancing room, I cannot describe. I seemed as if I was in a fire, and could not stay many minutes, but walked in the balcony; and shortly after, left the company and retired to my chamber, where I gave vent to many tears, and earnestly besought forgiveness for what I had done; after which, I felt a little quiet.

The Springs did not prove effectual in restoring my eye, though my health was considerably mended. In the fall, it was thought necessary for me to go to Philadelphia, and call a consultation of physicians, as my friends were apprehensive I should lose the sight, unless something could be done. The doctors proposed to scarify it, and I felt a willingness to submit to the operation; nor have I any doubt that this heavy affliction was in Divine wisdom, to wean my affections from the world. But kind Providence did not suffer the operation to be performed; for, although they came many times with instruments in their pockets, my eye was never

in a proper state to receive it. I continued to suffer extreme pain with it for twelve months; great part of which time I was under care of physicians; but after a time, being favoured to seek to Him from whom all true help cometh, and my dependence withdrawn from those physicians of no value, in a firm reliance that the Lord would restore me in his own time, I became resigned;—and forever blessed be his holy name, he was indeed pleased to restore me without the aid of any human assistance. As he is pleased often to afflict for wise purposes, so he is graciously pleased to restore, when those purposes are fulfilled.

Soon after my return from the city, in the fall, Wm. Savery visited Potts-town meeting, and I happened to be there. He appeared largely in testimony, and spoke so exactly to my state, and his doctrine carried with it such an evidence, that I could no longer doubt the principle: and since that, I do not remember ever to have omitted an opportunity which was put in my power, of attending Friends' meetings. He also appeared in supplication; in one part of which, my mind was so struck with the belief that I should be called into the ministry, that it caused me to tremble from head to foot. After meeting, I invited him home with me; and he, having some recollection of me from seeing me at Uwchlan some time before, accepted the invitation. He presented me with a little book, for which I was very grateful; not for the value of the book, but because it was given as a token of regard, from one to whom I felt my spirit nearly united. The next fourth-day, he proposed being at the monthly meeting at Exeter; whither my dear mother and myself

went, and attended the meeting for worship; and a memorable season it was to me. As we returned home, it seemed as if the face of nature was changed; and I saw a large field of labour opened, and that the work was not to be done in a day, or a month; but that it was a gradual progressive work, and must go on step by step. For I had begun to conclude, after I had altered my gay appearance, and given up all those vain amusements of which I was wont to partake, and feeling a degree of peace therein,—that the work was completed, and I had nothing more to do; so was in danger of taking up a false rest. But he who began the work did not leave me here, but caused a renewed visitation of his love to be extended through this dear instrument. On fourth-day evening he came in late, and lodged, and in the morning, before we parted, had a solemn opportunity with us; in which season he addressed me by name, imparting much counsel and encouragement, if faithfulness was kept to on my part; telling me also, that the passage through this life was known, even by the most experienced, to be a continual warfare. Which sealed truth, I have since been feelingly sensible of: but as it was the first time I ever had been so singularly spoken to, it affected me much.

I had, some time before this memorable visit from William Savery, been greatly exercised about my music. Having a particular fondness for it, and making considerable proficiency therein, I could not give it up until it was absolutely required; but after this renewed visitation, it seemed like forbidden fruit, and I dare not touch it. However, not being thoroughly satisfied whether it would be required of me wholly to give it up, I wished to be

rightly directed: and one night, going to bed under the impression, I dreamed I was playing, and as I touched the strings, they broke under my fingers. This dream, with the feeling that attended my mind, convinced me the time was fully come for me to part with this idol also: which, though a long and continued cross, I was enabled to take up.

I remained steady in the attendance of meetings, for above a year and a half, before my mind felt at liberty to make application to be received as a member, but, for twelve months preceding, was constrained to use the plain language. In the fall, before I made application to be received among Friends, Job Scott, being out upon a religious visit, lodged at our house. My father was from home, and my mother and aunt, with a beloved friend from the city, and myself, made up the family at that time: and truly, it seemed as if the canopy of Divine love was spread over us, and celestial showers issuing from the fountain of life, descended upon our habitation. I had, for some time, been in a low spot, and longed for a drop of heavenly consolation: my dear mother also had her mind much unsettled, by unprofitably conversing upon Swedenborg's opinions. There was likewise an elderly man in the neighbourhood, who had written a piece, vainly endeavouring to account for things he ought not. This man happened to be at our little meeting, when dear Job, after sitting a short time in silence, got up with these words: "Who art thou, O man! or O woman! who would of thine own finite understanding, presume to investigate the mysteries of the inscrutable God?" The words were solemn and awakening; and he was favoured to open matters clearly. It proved, I trust,

an humbling season to some who were present. And through infinite condescension, this dear friend, having a sitting in the family, was dipped into a sense of our state, and administered suitable counsel and encouragement. Also, in a little private opportunity, with tears flowing mutually from our eyes, he mentioned his sympathy with me, and his prospect respecting me; telling me I should have trials, and to remember that it was told me I should have trials: which assuredly have since fallen to my lot.

About the middle of the ensuing winter, believing the time nearly arrived for me to make request to Friends to be received under their care, I mentioned it, in a solid manner, to my parents, though in great fear, and having mine eyes turned to the Lord, with earnest breathings that I might be strengthened and assisted in this important step.—My mother was much affected, and shed tears; but my father thought it was time enough yet to make such a sacrifice;—that I was young, and had better wait till I was more fixed. I was enabled to tell him, that I was willing to give up the world, and all the enjoyments of it, for the purchase of a little peace;—that I no longer took delight in those things that had formerly given me much pleasure. He, seeing my mind bent upon it, gave his consent; and the next meeting day my mother went with me to Exeter. After the meeting, she called two elderly Friends aside, and told them she felt like Hannah, when she made an offering of her son to the Lord; for she had come to make an offering of me;—also telling them of my concern. They accordingly took it under care, and after divers visits from a solid

committee of Friends, I was received, in the 5th month, 1787.

I then found that, far from sitting down at ease, there was a large field of labour opened for me, and in the prospect thereof, my knees were made to tremble. I felt a deep concern to be steady in the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline; and, being distantly situated from them, found considerable difficulty, my father being frequently very averse to my going, particularly when the weather was wet or cold; which proceeded from motives of tenderness, but which, nevertheless, cost me no small degree of exercise; not feeling easy to stay at home on these accounts, when my health would admit of my going. And as it gave him great uneasiness, and he frequently opposed me, I had often to experience seasons of conflict, sometimes for a week before a meeting for discipline occurred; and my heart was poured forth in prayer to Almighty God, that if it was right, I might have strength to persevere; and that way might be opened for me, though I could see no way. And, for ever blessed be his holy name, he often caused the mountains to skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs, to my humbling admiration. One time, I particularly remember, being appointed to attend the Quarterly meeting, I asked my father's consent to let me go; he looked sternly at me, and objected. I felt in a great strait, and pleaded much with him. He at last consented; but told me, I need not expect to go again for some months; for he did not approve of women riding about the country in that manner. As I had gained his consent for the present, I was willing to leave my cause to the Lord; in the belief

that if he required me to go, he would open the way for me; and after retiring to my chamber, and giving vent to many tears, my faith and confidence were renewed in him who is the everlasting Rock of ages. This was the last time my dear father ever spoke so sharply to me upon such an occasion; for, seeing my peace deeply concerned in the strict attendance of meetings, and my endeared mother often pleading with him, he gave up.

May all those who labour under difficulties and discouragements in attending meetings, be encouraged to keep their eye single unto the Lord, with fervent breathings to him; then, assuredly, he will open the way for us, even though we may seem to be hedged in on every side.

My exercises and deep baptisms, in the prospect of being called into the work of the ministry, greatly increased: but Oh! my unwillingness to close in therewith, was more than words can express. My Divine Master saw meet to cause me to suffer long under a very trying dispensation, which was that of my beloved and tender mother being tried with lingering illness; and there seemed but little prospect of her recovery. The thought of parting with this dear parent, together with the inward exercises of my mind, was almost more than nature could bear. Oh! the nights of anxiety, and days of deep distress, which I passed through, at that time, will never be erased from my remembrance. And in this season of deep affliction I was made willing to covenant, that if the Lord would spare my mother, I would give up to what he required of me, though it was harder than the parting with my natural life.

And he graciously condescended to listen to my cry, and restored my endeared parent.

Previous to this, I attended the opening of the monthly meeting at Robeson; there were also some Friends from the city attended it, and one in particular, in the course of his public testimony, was dipt into sympathy with me in the deep exercise which I was under, together with the prospect of some further trial and sore conflict which I should have to pass through, in order to fit and prepare me for the great and solemn work whereunto my Master was about to call me; which testimony, with the sensations that accompanied my mind, left no more doubt of its being myself that was alluded to, than if my name had been publicly mentioned. This circumstance, together with that of many valuable Friends having feelingly sympathized with me, and expressed their prospect respecting me in a more private way, had a tendency to confirm me that the Lord did indeed require an entire surrender on my part, and that I must be willing to become a fool for Christ's sake.

After many probations, secret tears, and prayers to my Almighty Father for his help and gracious assistance, in this awful, solemn work; at a monthly meeting held at Exeter, in the 12th month, 1789, and in the twenty-second year of my age, after a season of the most severe conflict I ever before experienced, wherein the day of solemn covenant was brought before the view of my mind, with this secret intelligence, that if I did not give up to what was required of me, my mother should be taken from me,—I ventured upon my feet, and expressed a few words; in which I felt great peace, and be-

lieve I had the tender sympathy of most that were present. My esteemed friend, John Simpson, being there, in the language of encouragement, caused my heart to be truly thankful. He came home with me, and very feelingly expressed his unity with me; and also a fear lest, through diffidence, I should not sufficiently exert my voice. Which gentle hint was of use afterward, though at that time and frequently since, I did not expect ever to be called upon again in the same line; which peradventure may not be unusual to those young in experience. W. S. shortly after went to Philadelphia, and a dear friend who was nearly interested about me, inquired of him how I was. He mentioned that I had appeared publicly in a few words, which seemed to him like a swelling fully ripe; which, when it was opened, became easy. But alas! it was not only to be opened, but probed and fully searched, before the heavenly ointment or balm of Gilead could be availingly applied.

One circumstance I omitted in the early part of this narrative, which now occurs to my mind. A friend visiting Pottstown meeting, about twelve months after I became plain,—and I, being in a very low and discouraged state, went to meeting, greatly desiring he might be made an instrument of comfort to me. He spoke a considerable time, but did not touch upon any thing relative to my condition; and I returned home, under many doubts and fears lest my heavenly Father had cast me off for ever. My parents were in Philadelphia; and, being alone, I sat down on the sofa with the Bible in my hand, thinking to gain some instruction and comfort from those sacred truths. I had given up the idea of see-

ing the Friend, (who was a true father in Israel) or having any opportunity with him, as not being worthy of it; but he, dining at my uncle's not far distant, was after dinner walking in the piazza, and looking toward our house, felt a draught in his mind to come over. He knew nothing of the family; but, yielding to the impulse, he came; and passing through the outward room, where there was a young woman of the house, without asking any questions, he walked into the parlour where I was sitting in the situation above described, and without any further salutation than shaking hands, took a seat by me. A considerable time elapsed in deep inward silence, after which he mentioned how unexpectedly he was led to come over, without knowing the cause; but then feeling his mind clothed with sympathy for me, and believing it was for my sake, he imparted much counsel and advice, with a great deal of encouragement to me. Which singular favour did deeply humble my heart, and caused tears of gratitude, contrition, and tenderness to stream from mine eyes.

Having for my own satisfaction penned these few hints of my varied conflicts and exercises, and being sensible of the goodness of the Lord to me, his poor unworthy creature,—it is in my heart to say, May it please thee, O most gracious, merciful Father, to bow down thine ear and hear the humble petition of thy handmaid. Oh! be pleased to lay, with increasing weight, thine Almighty hand upon me.—Let it not spare, neither let thine eye pity, until thou hast thoroughly tried me, proved me, and known my works. Be pleased to bring me more immediately under thy refining operation, and ena-

ble me to bear with true resignation every turning of thy holy hand; that so I may be purged and purified, fitted and qualified, rightly to engage in the awful and solemn work whereunto thou hast called me. Or if, most gracious Lord, thou art pleased to cut short thy work, Oh! let it be in righteousness; and grant me admittance into thy ever blessed kingdom of light, life, and peace; there to join in the holy anthems of glory, glory, hallelujahs, and praise, to the Lord God and the Lamb; who art worthy for ever, saith my soul. Amen and amen.

RUTH ANNA RUTTER.



Testimony concerning Warner Mifflin, by his intimate friend and survivor, George Churchman.

He was eldest son of Daniel and Mary Mifflin, of Accomac county, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and was born about the year 1745. Their residence being distant from any settlement of Friends, his parents had but small share of society-help, yet were religiously careful of their children: especially his valuable mother, Mary Mifflin, who was concerned for the maintenance of order in their family. She, being a lively witness of the benefit of silent retirement in families, agreeable to the practice of our primitive Friends, maintained a godly zeal in promoting opportunities of quietude with her children and servants, often several times in a week;—which proved lastingly useful.

Warner Mifflin, being of an affable disposition and pleasing manners, became an object of the attention of gay people of note; but was, through mercy,

often preserved in times of temptation. At other times, his youthful inclination to undue liberties too much prevailed. His first marriage with Elizabeth Johns, was accomplished out of the approved order of Friends. But he was soon smitten with inward remorse for that precipitate step; and they were both enabled to condemn it, so as to be restored, in due time, to membership in society.— But he frequently expressed, that he often felt the crippling effects of that transgression of good order.

Having removed to Kent county, in Delaware, he was prevailed upon to accept the commission of a justice of the peace; in which public station he endeavoured to act with uprightness in the discharge of his duty. But, on a further conviction, and estimate of the value of pure religion, he did not find that peace which his soul desired, in embracing the honour conferred on his talents and person by a worldly spirit. Being remarkably awakened, and divinely helped, in the pursuit of the “pearl of great price,” through the powerful ministry of our friend Rachel Wilson, from Great Britain, he found it to be his duty to give up that commission, and leave a busy engagement in affairs that belong to the laws of outward government,—in order more fully and unshakenly to enlist in business dependant on the law of the Spirit of life: by submission to which, he was made instrumental in advancing the testimony of Truth; and a trumpet was given him to sound an alarm amongst us, of the iniquity of holding our fellow creatures in slavery.

Having liberated a considerable number of black people which were in his possession, he assisted his father in a like laudable concern, to liberate many

more who were in the condition of slaves. And when our religious society, in general, became clear of this unrighteous imposition upon mankind, his concern appeared to be enlarged, to labour amongst other people. Forcibly expostulating with ministers and clergymen of different denominations and degrees,—with delegates in congress in different states,—with governors, judges, and magistrates,—in christian boldness,—being influenced by wisdom from above,—he endeavoured to dissuade rulers from countenancing or encouraging the unrighteous traffic in human flesh—and to convince all classes of the injustice, cruelty, and oppression connected with enslaving, or holding in slavery, our fellow men. He was much concerned, that professing Christians might not be accessory to add to the guilt already incurred, on account of this cruel traffic and practice; and which he believed would occasion the pouring forth of the Lord's indignation upon those places where such abominations continued. Under these exercises, his diligence and zeal in advocating the cause of the oppressed, further appear, by many letters, writings, and notes, which he left behind him.

Many of the present generation are now in the enjoyment of freedom, who might have been slaves, but for the instrumentality of Warner Mifflin; who laboured first to convince the judgment of their holders of the iniquity of retaining them in bondage, from generation to generation;—next to gain their assent to emancipation,—and then, to aid them in the execution thereof.

With an upright candour, coupled with an open, sociable behaviour towards all, he was remarkably

qualified for obtaining the attention and esteem of men, in higher or lower stations, with whom he found it necessary to treat, relating to the cruel business of slavery, war, &c.

He was an example, in the simplicity and plainness of his apparel; and was religiously cautious respecting the use of things procured through corrupt channels.

On different occasions, his conduct was marked with a lively, encouraging faith and confidence in Divine superintendency. By a humble, steady devotion of soul, he endeavoured to promote the cause of Truth, in his day; being favoured, with becoming courage and zeal, in meekness, to obtain victory over spirits, comparative to Goliath, and seeming to defy the armies of the living God.

He maintained a faithful testimony against war, and the spirit of contention, and was zealous in endeavouring to strengthen the minds of his fellow professors in the support of that important testimony, becoming the followers of the Prince of Peace. Mournful in time of active war, he contemplated armies of men—our fellow creatures—contending with great animosity, like “potsherds of the earth,” furiously dashing one against another, with instruments of cruelty.

He was also concerned faithfully to uphold a testimony against the common use of spirituous liquors, and very helpful in discouraging the customary use of them at our tables, in our harvest fields, and on other occasions. He often testified that those who are found rioting in such things, out of the channel of pure temperance, would be in a dangerous affinity

with the inhabitants of mystical Babylon, where iniquity and confusion abound.

Skilful and impartial in the administration of our Christian discipline, he was led to visit the several Yearly Meetings in America, and many other meetings for discipline. Having obtained the solid advice and concurrence of his brethren, before he moved in those weighty concerns, his services seemed thereby rendered more weighty, and were attended with an evidence of rectitude, much to the acceptance of his friends.

Thus, by a humble and steady devotion, he grew in experience, so as to become a useful elder, and a valuable standard bearer in the militant church. But it is apprehended that his unwearied diligence, and the ardour of his concern and exercise for the welfare of mankind in general, and especially for the black people, had, in the latter years of his life, a wasting effect on his bodily health.

In the 9th month, 1798, at an awful season, when great mortality prevailed in Philadelphia by the yellow fever, he apprehended it to be his religious duty to attend the Yearly Meeting held there; and he continued in the city, with fortitude and resignation of mind, until the meeting adjourned. His great solicitude for the welfare of the American people, and for the relief from oppression and distress of those he frequently called his brethren of the African race, continued to be manifested during the time of his stay in the city. After his return, he wrote a letter to a friend, expressive of his solid satisfaction in having made the dedication,—manifesting his continued care for advocating and supporting the good cause, even in perilous times. In

this letter, he says, "As I came along homeward, I remembered how careful and watchful a helmsman ought to be, in time of a storm! How quick the attention should be to the helm, lest the vessel receive damage! I have thought much of a sentiment of worthy Isaac Pennington, since I came home, that Israel of old was not to know the deliverance beforehand, but to trust in the Lord."

It was thought he took the seeds of the disease prevalent in the city; and, some time after his return, being taken ill therewith, he remained in calmness and quietude of mind, under severe bodily sickness. Thus, in a peaceful state of mind, he was favoured to resign a life devoted to the honour of his Lord and Master, on the 16th day of the 10th mo. 1798, in the fifty-third year of his age.

GEORGE CHURCHMAN.



INDIAN SPEECH.

The following Speech of an Indian Chief was published, many years ago, with the introductory history of the occasion which called it forth. We know not that its authenticity has ever been called in question. As it exhibits the views of the Indian natives, at an early period of the settlement of this country by Europeans, it may be admitted as a statement of the long established opinions of a people who have sometimes, though perhaps improperly, been termed savages. If the language does not appear in the modern Indian style, it may be recollected, that in translating it from the Indian to the Latin, and from the Latin to the English, the phraseology may

have been adapted to the idioms of the latter, while the ideas conveyed are in accordance with the original views of the eloquent and enlightened Indian Chief. As it is probable many of the readers of the Miscellany may never have had an opportunity of perusing it, we think the re-publication may not be unacceptable—nor tend to lower the character of the unlettered aborigines. It may rather operate as confirmation of the view given to Peter at the house of Cornelius, “that God is no respecter of persons, but in *every* nation, they that fear him and work righteousness are accepted with him.”

A SPEECH

Delivered by an Indian Chief, in reply to a Sermon preached by a Swedish missionary, in order to convert the Indians to the Christian Religion.

About the year 1710, at an Indian treaty held at Conestoga, in Pennsylvania, a Swedish missionary preached a sermon, in which he set forth the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of a mediator, endeavouring, by certain arguments, to induce the Indians to embrace what he called the Christian Religion.

After his discourse was ended, one of the Indian Chiefs made a Speech in reply to the sermon of the missionary. The discourses, on both sides, were made known by interpreters.

The missionary returned to Sweden, and published his sermon, and the Indian's answer. Having written them in Latin, he dedicated them to the University of Upsal, in Sweden, and requested them to furnish him with arguments to confute such

strong reasoning of the Indian, but it doth not appear that this was ever done. The following is the Indian's speech, as translated from the Latin.

“Since the subject of the missionary's errand is to persuade us to embrace a new religion, perhaps it may not be amiss, before we offer him our reasons why we cannot comply with his request, to acquaint him with the grounds and principles of that religion which he would have us to abandon.

Our forefathers were under a strong persuasion, as we are at this day, that those who act well in this life will be rewarded in the next, according to the degree of their virtue: and, on the other hand, that those who behave wickedly here, will undergo such punishment hereafter, as is proportionable to the crimes they were guilty of while here. This hath been constantly and invariably received and acknowledged for a truth, through every successive generation of our ancestors. It could never have its rise from fables, or human fiction; for these, however artfully or plausibly contrived, can never gain credit long among any people, where free inquiry is allowed,—which was never denied by our ancestors: they, on the contrary, thought it the sacred, inviolable, and natural right of every man, to examine and judge for himself.

Therefore we think it evident, that our opinion concerning future rewards and punishments, was either revealed immediately from Heaven to some of our forefathers, and by them handed down to us; or, that it was implanted in each of us at our creation, by the Creator of all things. Whatever the method might have been, whereby God hath been

pleased to make known to us his will, and give us a knowledge of our duty, it is still, in our sense, a Divine revelation.

Now we desire to propose to him some questions. Does he believe that our forefathers, men eminent for their piety, constant and warm in the pursuit of virtue, hoping thereby to merit eternal happiness, were all damned? Does he think that we, who are their zealous imitators in good works, and influenced by the same motives as they were, earnestly endeavouring, with the greatest circumspection, to tread the paths of integrity, are in a state of damnation? If these be his sentiments, they are surely as impious, as they are bold and daring.

In the next place, we beg that he would explain himself more particularly, concerning the revelation he talks of. If he admits of no other than what is contained in his written book, the contrary is evident from what has been shown before; but if he says, that God has revealed himself to us, but not sufficient for our salvation; then we ask, to what purpose should he have revealed himself to us in any wise? It is clear, that a revelation insufficient to save, cannot put us in a better condition than we should be in, without any revelation at all. We cannot conceive that God should point out to us the end we ought to aim at, without opening to us the way to arrive at that end.

But supposing our understandings to be so far illuminated as to know it to be our duty to please God, who yet has left us under an incapacity of doing it, will this missionary, therefore, conclude that we shall be eternally damned? Will he take upon him to pronounce damnation against us, for not do-

ing those things which he himself acknowledges were impossible by us to be done? It is our opinion, that every man is possessed of sufficient knowledge for his own salvation. The Almighty may, for any thing we know, have communicated himself to different races of people, in a different manner. Some say they have the will of God in writing—be it so: their revelation has no advantage above ours; since both must be sufficient to save, or the end of the revelation would be frustrated: besides, if they both be true, they must be the same in substance; and the difference can only be in the mode of communication.

He tells us there are many precepts in his written revelation, which we are entirely ignorant of; but those written commands could only be designed for those who have the writings; they cannot possibly regard us. Had the Almighty thought such knowledge necessary for our salvation, his goodness would not have so long deferred the communication of it to us: and to say, that in a matter so necessary, he could not, at one and the same time, equally reveal himself to all mankind, is nothing less than an absolute denial of his omnipotence. Without doubt, he can make his will manifest, with, or without the help of any book, or the assistance of any bookish man whatsoever.

We shall, in the next place, consider the arguments which arise from a consideration of Providence. If we are the work of God, which we presume will not be denied, it follows from thence, that we are under the care and protection of God; for it cannot be supposed that the Deity should abandon his own creatures, and be utterly regardless of

their welfare. Then, to say that the Almighty has permitted us to remain in a fatal error through so many ages, is to represent him as a tyrant. How is it consistent with his justice, to force life upon a race of mortals, without their consent, and then to damn them eternally, without opening to them a door of salvation! Our conceptions of the gracious God are much more noble; and we think that those who teach otherwise, do little less than blaspheme.

Again, it is through the care and goodness of the Almighty, that from the beginning of time, through many generations, to this day, our name has been preserved, unblotted out by our enemies, unreduced to nothing: by the same care, we now enjoy our lives, and are furnished with the necessary means of preserving those lives. But all these things are trifling, compared with our salvation. Therefore, since God has been so careful of us in matters of little consequence, it will be absurd to affirm, that he has neglected us in cases of the greatest importance.

Admit that he hath forsaken us, yet it could not have been without a just cause: let us suppose that some heinous crime was committed by one of our ancestors, like to that, we are told, happened among another race of people; in such a case God would certainly punish the criminal, but would never involve us that are innocent, in his guilt: those who think otherwise, must make the Almighty a very whimsical, ill-natured being.

Once more, are the Christians more virtuous, or rather, are they not more vicious, than we are? If so, how came it to pass that they are the objects of God's beneficence, while we are neglected? Does the Deity confer his favours without reason, and with

so much partiality? In a word, we find the Christians much more depraved in their morals than ourselves; and we judge of their doctrine, by the badness of their lives.”



MEMOIR OF CHARLES HALDANE.

Near the latter end of the year 1789, Charles Haldane came from near Petersburg, in Virginia, to Philadelphia. He was then near the age of eighteen, and went apprentice to Joseph Budd, hatter, in Front street. His amiable disposition and obliging manners soon gained him the affectionate regard of the family in which he resided. His education had been in the Episcopalian profession: he had hitherto had little knowledge of Friends; so that his situation in a Friend's family was a novelty to him. From motives of curiosity, he went a few times to Market street meeting, then visited divers other places of worship: but felt something in his mind that induced a belief, it was not acceptable worship to the Most High, for men and women to make ostentatious parades, and vain, superfluous shows in the house of prayer; and apprehending that many of the forms and ceremonies, used in some of the meetings he visited, were not consistent with the true and spiritual life of the New Testament, he was induced to a diligent attendance of Friends' meetings, for about two years. Having, as he stated, always been indulged in pride and vanity, he thought he could be sufficiently good to remain in the same dress and gayety in which he had been brought up. He discovered the deception of this conclusion, after

it had, as he says, lulled him to sleep during those two years. Although his mind was gliding too much on the surface, he was, at times, tenderly reached and much affected under the ministry of faithful Friends. Silent meetings had been, as first, much of a mystery to him; but his heart being more effectually touched in these solemn seasons, he was much humbled, and was measurably prepared to unite with Friends in their spiritual exercises.

In the 12th mo. 1791, he received intelligence of the decease of one of his sisters, in Virginia. He had then been about two years from his near connexions: that affectionate disposition which appears to have been cultivated amongst them, while together, had probably been increased, rather than diminished, by absence. He had, no doubt, often dwelt on the pleasing anticipations that resulted from the prospect of reuniting in the social endearments of his recollections; and it was peculiarly trying to him to find his prospect so materially affected, by the death of one, on whom he had placed his most sincere affections. While under the solemn impressions made by this event, his health was suddenly affected to such a degree that himself and the family believed he was near unto death. In this situation, he says he was made willing to submit to the power of the Most High; and he was brought into the state of clay in the hands of the potter—to be any thing or nothing, just as the Lord pleased. He had little prospect of recovery; but felt a breathing desire that if he was raised up again, he would live more in the fear of the Lord, and more devoted to his service. He recovered slowly, and, for some months, his feelings were far different from what they had been

before. He frequently retired into his chamber alone; spent his leisure time in reading, or sitting in silence—and sometimes wrote serious and affectionate letters to his relations in Virginia. He diligently attended the meetings of Friends, and said he experienced more solid and satisfactory comfort, than in all his life before.

In the 1st mo. 1793, he made application, in a letter addressed to Wm. Savery, to become a member of the Society of Friends. By a letter to his mother, dated 6th month following, it appears his case was under Friends' consideration,—and probably a return to his relations, near Petersburg, which appears to have been in prospect, was postponed till Friends might become satisfied to admit him. In this letter, speaking of his application to Friends, he says: "As my request will have to pass through divers monthly meetings, it will be some time yet before we shall meet together. Though the cross may be hard for thee to bear, it is equally as trying to my own natural part; for I do not expect to embark for Petersburg before the 1st of the 10th mo. Then, dear mother, let thy loving son solicit and entreat thee to give up, and bear the cross with patience. Times and seasons are not at our command; but are entirely in the hands of the Almighty, who alone is able to preserve us, and to restore us to each other in the right time. Therefore it behoves us to humble ourselves as in the dust, and resign all our desires and natural inclinations, in subjection to the Divine will, and place our dependance and whole trust alone in the Most High. Of ourselves, without the assistance of Divine grace, we can do nothing; but in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting

strength. And whilst our humble dependance is on his never failing mercy, we shall, at times and seasons, experience hard things to be made easy, and bitter things will taste sweet; and in our greatest besetments, and most humiliating conflicts, the light of his countenance will arise, and scatter our enemies. My most ardent desires are, that the Almighty power may be graciously pleased to bring us all more and more into humility, and remove far from us vanity and lies; so that we may be made to see the beauty of holiness, and have no other desire than to bring glory to Almighty God, and peace to our never dying souls. That whilst rolling on our pillows in the solemn close of life, we may have something to whisper peace, and invite us to a habitation eternal in the heavens. Oh! how I am sometimes heart-tendered and made to feel the finger of Divine love, which causes me to bow in reverence, and raise my secret cries unto him, the creator of the ends of the earth, that he may be graciously pleased to strengthen me under the heavenly banner of his love, and clothe me with the armour of a meek and quiet spirit, so that I may be enabled to fight the good fight of faith, and finish my course with joy. I am sometimes so enamoured with Divine love, that methinks I could spin out the whole course of my life, in meditating on heaven and heavenly things, and in speaking praise unto the Lord God and the Lamb.”

About the beginning of the 8th month, 1793, the yellow fever appeared in Philadelphia, and so rapidly increased that many of the citizens removed to the country. Joseph Budd, it appears, remained in the city, had the disease in his family, and lost

his wife and one of his children. Charles Haldane, it is believed, continued with him, till the calls of duty, and his benevolent disposition, induced him to engage in the assistance of the family of an aunt of his, who were all affected with the prevailing fever. Zachariah Poulson, in a short account published in 1794, gives the following account of him:

“In the rapid progress the disease made, many families in the city of some respectability, actually suffered for the want of menial aid. The widow Mills’s family, in Race street, to the number of seven, were all ill with the fever in the early part of September, and had no other nurse but a black man, who visited them frequently every day, but who had other families, in the same manner, under his care, and was, of consequence, often absent. The family suffered extremely, till a young man, a nephew of the widow, heard of their distress, and heroically devoted himself to their relief. Instructed only by his humanity, he became a tender, faithful, and solicitous nurse. Two of the family died,—the rest recovered under his affectionate care; but, a few days after, and under the same roof, he himself sunk a victim to his own virtuous zeal. Virtue, wherever it appears, ennobles the possessor, however humble his external situation may be. This young man’s name was Charles Haldane,—he had been an apprentice to Joseph Budd, of this city, and was about twenty (one) years of age. This effort of courageous humanity deserves the greater applause, as he never expected to survive it.”

The following letter, addressed to one of his brothers, was dated 9th mo. 1793.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

It is in a good degree of truly affectionate brotherly love, that I salute thee with a few lines; which will inform thee that I continue to be favoured with a comfortable share of health. But Oh! my brother, what a time of solemnity, and what a scene of calamity is spread before us! We may truly say, that great is the majesty and hand of the Lord; for he has now lifted up the rod, and many have felt the scourge. Oh Philadelphia! thou highly favoured city! thy inhabitants are fled hither and thither; and many, alas! have taken their final flight into a never ending eternity. I do not think there was ever such a sickly time in Philadelphia, as the present. There is a prevailing disorder called the yellow fever, which has of late taken off many, of all ranks and ages. Oh! what sad havoc it has already made; and when it may abate, or how it may terminate, we know not; but must humbly submit to the will of the Most High, for he is indeed the righteous Judge of the whole earth, and knoweth when to spare, and when to take away. Yea, verily, justice and judgment are in his habitation; mercy and truth are ever before his face. And although heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool, yet he will look unto that man that is of an humble spirit, a contrite heart, and trembleth at his word. "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, whose hope the Lord is, and whose heart departeth not from the living God." For although his judgments must come, yet his mercy endureth for ever. And his faithful, depending children can, in the midst of calamity and distress, secretly rejoice in that perfect love which casteth out all fear. Yea, I

trust, there is a remnant yet left in this city, who can, from living sense and experience, adopt the language, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are all thy ways thou King of Saints." Oh! my brother, what can be preferable to that peace and tranquillity, which we believe to be enjoyed by the righteous, in the closing scene of life? And what ought we to be more concerned about, than that of procuring such a state in our journeying through this vale of tears? Methinks it will be well worth our whiles to attend to the advice of the Apostle, "Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure, before you go hence to be seen of men no more." Oh! happy, thrice happy, are they who live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. For it is declared in the blessed scriptures of truth, that glory, honour, and peace, immortality and eternal life, will be rendered unto the soul of every man that doeth well. But tribulation, anguish, and woe to the soul of every man that doeth evil. Oh! then, how essentially necessary it is, for every individual of us to be careful and circumspect, in all our conversation and conduct, just and true in all our deeds and actions; so that we may, in so labouring, endeavour to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man. For no man knoweth when the bridegroom cometh. Therefore it behoves us all to prepare our lamps, and be in readiness at all times; so that if we be called away suddenly, we may happily feel something to quicken and stay our minds in a reliance on the mercy of the Most High.

CHARLES HALDANE.



THOUGHTS AND REMARKS

On timely and properly attending Religious Meetings.

George Dillwyn in his Reflections, says, "If sincerity be wanting, the most correct, systematical opinions in the world can never render any one's devotion acceptable."

Sincerity or loyalty between the subjects and kings of this world, is something counted worthy of honour.

Amongst those we have accounts of, who were the most sincerely devoted to serve the King of kings, and Lord of lords, in their attendance of religious meetings, it is recorded of many, that they were very careful to observe the hour for gathering; and of some, that they were mostly seated in meeting by the time, or at the hour appointed. Doth not such punctuality much tend to right order? which some have said is the life of every thing. So, if right order tends to life; disorder tends to death and confusion. We read in Scripture that God is the God of order, and not of confusion. I have seen many meetings very much hurt, and the service of some almost, if not quite, laid waste, for want of proper attention to this right order; and by many infringing on this order of observing the time appointed for gathering.

"A friend," says Solomon, "loveth at all times." Would not this love to one another quicken us to attend meetings at the time appointed? It may by some be called a little thing; but let such remember the promise where it is said, "he that is faithful in a little, shall be made ruler over more." And

again, the Lord saith, "Them that honour me, I will honour; and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

John Rutty, a worthy elder, calls late going to meetings, robbing of God. Some have said it was like throwing on cold water, as they came dropping in, unseasonably. We may observe people who are in earnest to lay up treasure on earth, are not often late in getting to market. So, on the other hand, those who are in earnest to lay up treasure in heaven, are not apt to be late in getting to meetings.

William Penn, on the subject of public worship, says, "We owe it to God, and good example."—Again, in his excellent advice to his children, he says, "Be sure that you forsake not the assembling yourselves with God's people. Do you keep close to meetings, both of worship, and business of the church, when of an age and capacity for it, and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be seen of men; but in pure fear, love, and conscience to God, your Creator, as the public, just, and avowed testimony of your duty and homage to him. In which, be exemplary, both by *timely* coming, and a reverent and serious deportment during the meeting."

Public social worship, if rightly considered, is the most solemn act which man can be engaged in. It is also one of the most interesting to us; because it is an attempt to try to obtain the favour of our great Creator and Judge, which is all we need. Great are the promises to them that obtain his favour; neither grace, nor glory, nor any good thing will be withheld from them.

Can there be any thing more inconsistent, than a superficial, trifling indifferency, and lukewarmness

in religion, or in attending religious meetings! How loathsome is this state represented in Scripture! "I would thou wert either cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." As to attending meetings, in a superficial, easy, dull, drowsy, or lukewarm manner, I have been ready to query, whether any thing operates more against the cause we profess to espouse, in meeting together? Would it not be ridiculous, constantly to attend markets in such a way? Or, what could more discredit the practice of attending markets, than for fashion's sake, when nothing is gained by it?

In the London Epistle for the year 1800, are these remarks: "How many feel themselves languid, when assembled for this solemn purpose, for want of a previous preparation of heart? The mind, crowded with thoughts on outward things, in approaching the place for public worship,—and resuming them with avidity on its return,—is not likely to fill up the interval to profit. And to such, their meeting together may prove a form, as empty as any of those, out of which we believe Truth called our forefathers, and still calls us. If we truly succeed them, as witnesses for the truth, we must look beyond forms, to *that* which is the life of all true religious performances. So we may become fitted, in our stations, for the Lord's service, and the promotion of the cause of righteousness on earth."

Some observations and remarks, in the following copy of a letter sent to Samuel Fothergill by a person not in membership with the Society of Friends, are worthy of close attention:

“DEAR SIR,

As you may have great influence in establishing things decent and orderly in your society, I take the liberty of troubling you with this address. I have often attended silent meetings, and come away greatly edified; both from what I have felt myself, and from the great satisfaction I took, in sitting with so many Christian philosophers, (for so I must esteem those who can sit two hours, to improve only from the operation of Divine grace within) And indeed, the point I am concerned about is the great want of silence, too frequently after large meetings. After a few words spoken yesterday by an excellent woman, in the afternoon, at Devonshire-house, I was astonished,—I was shocked,—to hear the universal babbling after the meeting broke up. I endeavoured to account for it, by reason of many town friends meeting their country friends, after a year’s absence. But this could not convince me that the clamour was consistent with the decorum expected from so still and quiet a people.

If it is said, the house is only a house, and that after meeting, it is as decent to talk in a meeting house, as in the street, or by the way,—to this I have no answer that can be satisfactory to such as esteem it only a proper degree of liberty. And if custom has made it inoffensive, I shall, another time, only avoid the hearing of it;—and shall, at all times, pray for the prosperity of Mr. Fothergill and his friends.”

As a reproof of this practice, I have been told of an old Englishman, a servant in Pennsylvania, who being much dissatisfied with so much talking about the meeting house doors, both before and after meet-

ing, wrote on the door of the meeting house these words, "Market without and meeting within;—when meeting is done, then market will begin."

As to going late to meeting, it seems, we have no just excuse or plea at all; meetings being generally held within three or four miles of most who attend, and very few have five miles to go. We are also abundantly furnished with clocks and watches, and comfortable carriages and horses;—very different from *many* of our friends formerly, who had not these conveniences of time-pieces, carriages and horses, but had to go on foot many miles, even sometimes to the exposing of their health, or in peril or danger of their lives.

In that excellent work, called "Piety Promoted," is a striking account of Dorothy Owen, worthy of being revived, as follows: "The sweet savour of her zealous, meek example,—of her dedication of time, faculties and property,—though in low circumstances, to the glory of God, and good of her fellow creatures,—had a powerful tendency to enforce the doctrines she preached. She was remarkable for her diligence in the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline; from which, neither distance nor weather kept her back, while of ability: and she frequently went near forty miles on foot, in that mountainous country, to attend the monthly meeting; even when the inclemency of the weather rendered it not only difficult but dangerous. She contented herself with the least expensive manner of living and dress, in order to have the more to distribute to the necessities of others;—tenderly sympathising with the poor inhabitants around her. So bright was her example, that one not in profession

with us declared her conduct preached daily to him. Her last illness was lingering and painful, which she bore with exemplary patience. She was eminently favoured with Divine peace, so as sensibly to gather the minds of those who visited her, into a feeling of the same blessed influence. Her prospect of future happiness was unclouded; and very near her conclusion, she said, "the arms of Divine mercy are wide open to receive me." Aged forty-two, a minister nineteen years.

One further remark on the custom of much conversation in the meeting house, and about the door: Is there not something very inconsistent and irreverent in it? Also, for young people and others to get into companies before meeting, and stay out talking together till the meeting is chiefly settled, and then come in, to the disturbance of others. Again, when meeting breaks up, to gather into companies, and excite one another to lightness, so as soon to lose any serious impressions that have been felt. Is there not something in these practices that will be likely to rob us of our chief good, and tend to our weakness and degeneracy? Of what real advantage is it, thus to have, as it were, three meetings in a day—two out doors, and one in the house? But custom, tyrant custom, seems to persuade many that these are little, trifling things. Thus,

"Custom alone, in time may draw

The strangest things into a law."

If custom is so hard to break, when wrong, how necessary it is to beware of evil habits, and the indulgence of wrong customs.

Our early Friends said, "the trifling gayeties and glittering vanities which so much bewitch our young

people, ought to be banished from our religious assemblies, because they have a tendency to divert the minds of spectators from the proper business there. Now let us look a little, and see how it is with us, in our day. We read that in this world, there are lords many, and gods many. Which, among them all, have we chosen? It is said, "all the gods of the nations are idols;" and whatsoever people love best, that is their god, or idol. A certain minister in years past, said the old people went too much into the earth, and the young people into the air. Is any state harder to reach than an earthly mind? Hence the prophet exclaims, "O earth! earth! earth! hear the word of the Lord!"

As to the dear, though giddy and unsteady youth, how do too many of them soar as into the airy regions of fancy, or bow down to that great idol, fashion, in their dress and amusements! How many fevers, consumptions, and fatal diseases, have been induced, by following foolish fashions! Thus, many sacrifice health and life, and die martyrs for that great idol, the fashion of this world, which soon passeth away.

JOHN HUNT.

Moorestown, N. J. 5th of 5th mo. 1816.



Anecdotes of Anthony Benezet.

Kindred minds soon become acquainted, and where virtuous principle governs, this acquaintance is productive of beneficial effects. Perfect love is above the formality of what is called polite breeding. It finds its way to the heart, in actions that speak more impressively than the most studied eloquence.

When Anthony Benezet was about preparing for the press, his Remarks on the use and abuse of spi-

rituous liquors, Jacob Lindley first became known in the Yearly Meeting, by an energetic testimony which he delivered on that subject. As he was then a young man, he sat far back in the house. When the sitting closed, Anthony Benezet, whose benevolent mind had responded to Jacob's communication, was very earnest to speak to him; and leaving his elder acquaintance, he made his way through the crowd, to give Jacob an invitation to dine with him. As Jacob was much of a stranger in the city, as well as to Anthony, the latter directed him to wait till he had spoken to some other friends, after which he would pilot him to his house. He did so; and appeared to give particular attention to his new guest; for as soon as dinner was over, he took him into a private room, and told him of the great unity he had with his testimony on the subject of spirituous liquors—and further informed him, that he had been writing a book on the subject, which he intended to publish. He then requested Jacob Lindley to put on paper his views and remarks on the subject, and they should have a place in his work—furnishing him with pen and ink for that purpose. Jacob, during this conversation, was deeply impressed with a sense of his own littleness, and marvelled at the condescension and kindness, as well as freedom and warmth of affection, manifested by his elder friend, who till now, had been a stranger to him. Finding Anthony's importunity to have his written views pressing upon him, he excused himself by saying he was no scribe, nor the son of a scribe; that although he felt a deep concern and testimony on this subject, yet he could not then write his sentiments and views, nor did he wish to appear in print.

Thus, a friendship was formed between these kindred minds, that was lasting as life, and which was not dissolved by death.

On the arrival of the first ambassador from the Court of France, during the American revolution, say, Luzerne by name, Anthony Benezet waited on him, with a desire to give him some information respecting the Society of Friends, then much unknown to him; as well as to present to him one of Robert Barclay's Apologies. The chevalier, as he was called, being a knight of Malta, and that people avowed enemies of the Turkish empire,—appeared much surprised at the peaceable character of Friends, as thus represented to him; and with earnestness queried, whether they would not kill the Ottomans? But on Anthony's stating that they would not destroy the life of any, he exclaimed with surprise, that they were very good, but too straight! as he apprehended it to be meritorious to kill the Turks. He, however, accepted the book presented to him, and desired Anthony Benezet to call and see him again; which he frequently did; being enabled to converse with him in French, and by that means, in future conversations, to explain his views. Luzerne always made way for his reception: and when surrounded with courtiers, would sometimes express himself, that although A. B. possessed but a small body, yet, with an exclamation, said, Oh! what a *capacious soul he possesses!* extending his arms as if to embrace a large object. As long as he was engaged in his mission to America, he always retained a great regard, and evinced a strong friendship for Anthony Benezet, who probably was one of the greatest philanthropists ever known to the writer of this article. E. G.

On the death of Oliver Paxson.

'Tis past ! life's weary, painful scenes are o'er !

One spirit more, the angelic host shall claim,
On wings of faith, triumphantly to soar,
And hymn sweet praises to a Saviour's name.

And shall our selfish tears demand thy stay?

No: rather hush the sad, reluctant sigh;
For heaven's own glories lend their holiest ray,
To bless the moments when the righteous die.
And such wast thou—Oh! how belov'd, rever'd,
Shall many a distant circle fondly tell;
Long at that name, by various worth endear'd,
Shall mem'ry's eye, with warm emotions swell.

A vig'rous mind was thine; a judgment clear;

A soul so meek, so heavenly, and refin'd,
'That nought was seen, thro' many pangs severe,
But humble patience and a will resign'd.

How oft shall tender, thankful hearts recall

Some kind and faithful admonition given,—
To check some heedless footsteps, lest they fall,
Or guide a wanderer to the paths of heaven.

'Twas thine, the bitter wounds of strife to heal,
With soothing art to bid dissensions cease;—
Till, crown'd with social love, thy heart could feel,
The Christian's labours are repaid with peace.

A peace which this world's joys can never give,
Nor yet its tumults nor its frowns destroy;
That blest reward which faith and love receive,
A blissful foretaste of immortal joy.

May we, who mourn the father and the friend,
Know the same pow'rful influence from above,
To cheer, with glorious hopes, like thine, our end,
And guide our souls to realms of peace and love.

From Mary Peisley's manuscript Journal.

“Having been long under deep baptisms and poverty of spirit,—as I quietly rode along, the Lord, in mercy, was pleased to break in upon my mind, by his living presence and power; and it became the language of my soul, Speak, Lord, and thy servant will hear. After which, many things were divinely opened to me; in which I greatly rejoiced, and was thankful to the Lord my God. I then found a sudden, but gentle rebuke; and heard, as it were, a voice that said in the secret of my soul, “Those dispensations thou most delights in, are least pleasing to me; and not so beneficial to thyself, as that pure poverty of spirit, brokenness and contrition of heart, and humility of mind. And the reason that this is so little desired, and so unpleasant to the creature, is, because it can have no part in it, but is wholly and entirely excluded, and set at nought; and therefore it can discover no beauty or excellency in it. This is the reason I love the offerings of a broken heart and contrite spirit, as it is most pure, and without mixture of the creature. For whether there be prophesy,—divine openings,—divers revelations,—consolations,—joying or rejoicing in the Holy Spirit,—gifts of healing,—tongues or utterance;—in all these self can rejoice, and have a share, because they are obvious to it, and bring it honour.”

Then, said I, Lord, dispense to me what is well pleasing unto thee, and best for me; so long as my weak faith and patience can endure it. But when I am ready to faint, then give me a little of the wine well refined from the lees, that my soul may rejoice in the God of my salvation.”

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 8.]

SEVENTH MONTH, 1832.

[Vol. II.]

TESTIMONY

CONCERNING EVAN THOMAS, OF BALTIMORE.

A Memorial of the monthly meeting of Baltimore, for the Western District, concerning our friend, Evan Thomas, deceased.

He was born in Montgomery county in this State, on the 21st day of the 11th month, 1738, O. S. To hold up to survivors the example of one who has peacefully finished the career of probation, and by exhibiting a condensed view of the prominent steps by which he was conducted through the chequered scenes of life, to endeavour to impress on our minds, that the Spirit of Truth, the only safe guide to salvation and preservation, and which is one in all, whether as a reprovcr or a refiner, a leader or a comforter, according as our various states and conditions require,—still follows us, in all our wanderings, in order to bring us back to the true fold of rest and peace;—is the object of this memorial.

From some documents left in the hand-writing of this our beloved friend, it appears that his mind was, at an early age, solemnly impressed with religious sensations, and that, in this tender frame, he was often deeply affected in reading the Journals and other writings of primitive Friends; in which are recorded their trials and sufferings for con-

science' sake;—and that desires were then excited, that he might attain to a measure of that faith and patience which they manifested under the most trying dispensations. Thus furnishing additional evidence that, at an early period in life, the human mind is susceptible of Divine impressions, and that the touches of the heavenly Father's love are co-eval with the first dawn of reason and reflection. But there is a countervailing influence, which too often effaces these precious impressions. Collision with a world lying in wickedness, has a powerful tendency to stamp upon the soul its own harsh and unlovely features, in place of the fair characters delineated by the Divine hand.

Thus it appears, by these documents, that before he had reached his sixteenth year, the contaminating influence of evil communication, that powerful corrupter of good manners, had nearly obliterated all the traces of those tender impressions which had been made upon his mind; and that, about this time, a severe sickness, from which recovery seemed very doubtful, was the means used in the ordinations of Infinite Wisdom, to draw him back into the paths of innocence and safety. Deeply exercised under this heavy affliction, from a distressful consciousness of departure from the pointings of truth, he was reduced to a willingness to enter into covenant with the Creator and Preserver of men, that if he would spare him longer, he would endeavour to be more circumspect in life and conversation. For about four years after his recovery from the above mentioned sickness, he passed his time mostly in retirement, being chiefly employed in reading and study, and was in some measure preserved from re-

lapsing into the spirit of the world. During this period of seclusion it was, that the suggestion first entered his mind, that a dispensation of the gospel ministry would be committed to his trust. This suggestion, however, was soon banished, and another trial of his steadfastness succeeded. With some young men in the neighbourhood possessing a literary taste and fascinating manners, he formed an intimate acquaintance; and not at first perceiving, that under this imposing exterior there were concealed libertine principles, the fruitful source of licentious morals, his mind, by insensible degrees, became alienated from the love of retirement, and he was led gradually into the vortex of a very corrupting and dangerous association, in which he continued for several years. Although he was mercifully preserved from the grosser vices, and, on that account, ventured to consider himself as standing on safe ground; yet the Keeper of Israel, who slumbers not, nor sleeps, did not permit him to remain at ease in this state of false security; for in seasons of retirement, and in the solitary hour, the witness for God in the soul, that teacher that cannot be removed into a corner, would break in upon every false rest. Often was the day which had been spent in unprofitable company, or in idle and profane conversation, succeeded by a night of deep condemnation and horror. A return to company and amusement was the usual, though ineffectual, resource for quieting these uneasy feelings, and counteracting these heavenly visitations, which, in one state of the mind, will be hailed as inexpressibly precious and rejoicing, whilst in another, they will be viewed with aversion. Thus, in alternations of

disobedience and remorse, he continued until the year 1766, when he entered into the married state.

From this time, ambition for distinction in the world took possession of his mind, and the conjuncture of circumstances which soon after occurred was favourable to the growth and development of such feelings. During the ferment, which about that time began to agitate these United States, then British colonies, and which eventuated in the revolutionary war, he was carried along with the popular current; and having been present at a general meeting of the county, called on occasion of the alleged public grievances, he was chosen a delegate to the first convention of this State, held at Annapolis, which he attended; and the proceedings adopted by that body, appearing in his view not to be inconsistent with the principles professed by Friends, received his support. Under the illuminating influence of that faithful Monitor of the soul which continued to follow him, his understanding was opened clearly to perceive, that the measures which he was promoting would eventually lead to open war, and he immediately withdrew from any further active agency in public concerns: and although returned a delegate to the second convention, he declined serving. This devotion to principle was followed by further openings of that light which discovers to us our real standing in the sight of Infinite purity; and, by an increased faithfulness, he became more and more humbled under the operation of the Divine hand, and was rendered willing to resign that ambitious love of distinction, which had heretofore so entirely engrossed his regard. The conflict between inclination and a clear sense of du-

ty, was painful in the extreme. To give up those flattering prospects of worldly honour, to one occupying a prominent station in society, and in the prime of life, during an eventful crisis of public affairs, was found to be a sacrifice which could only be made by a dedication to religious principle. The sacrifice, however, was called for, and it was made; and he has left it as his testimony, that in the reward of that peace which followed, there was an abundant recompense.

The Society of Friends had, until this time, in common with others in these parts, fallen very generally into the practice of keeping slaves: but as every act of obedience to the manifestations of truth upon the mind, prepares the way for further openings of the Divine light upon our understandings; so "the Spirit which searches all things," discovered to him the iniquity of holding his fellow men in a state of personal bondage; and, yielding to the visitation, he soon became entirely convinced of its inconsistency with that primary duty of a Christian, which is to "do unto others as we would that they should do unto us," and was strengthened faithfully to bear an upright testimony against the practice, though then a generally prevailing one, by manumitting and restoring to their just rights, those of the African race who were in his possession. This compliance with duty, it appears, not only disencumbered his mind from a heavy burden which had sorely pressed upon it, but opened his way for future service and usefulness in the church.

From this time he became regular and diligent in the attendance of meetings, and active in the exercise of the discipline; and was soon laid under the

necessity of testifying to others what the Lord had done for him, in order to encourage them in the path of righteousness. During the revolutionary war, he suffered great loss of goods, in support of his testimony to the peaceable character of Christ's kingdom, as well as for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and for declining to pay taxes levied for the support of the war. He also suffered deeply for the exercise of his gift as a minister of the gospel. All which trials, it appears, he bore with patience, meekness, and an unshaken reliance upon the Divine support. He had a clear and strong testimony against the use of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, which by a consistent example, he sustained to the close of life. Within a short time before his decease, he stated with great emphasis and feeling, in a public meeting, that for the last sixty years, he had not, to his knowledge, swallowed one drop of distilled spirits, nor in any degree indulged in the unnecessary use of intoxicating drinks.

In the love of the gospel which enlarges the soul in affectionate desire for the welfare of others, he was often engaged to travel abroad and appoint religious meetings, both among Friends and other people; in which service he was frequently occupied as long as physical strength would permit: possessing strong powers of mind, and a highly cultivated understanding, in the exercise of his ministerial gift he was concise, clear, and convincing; and being courteous and affable in his manners, he generally gained the respectful notice and regard of those to whom his labours were directed. Under the influence of that charity which breathes peace on earth and good will to men, he was led into deep sympa-

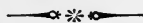
thy for the Indian natives of this country; and, when far advanced in life, was drawn to visit some of the tribes, north-west of the river Ohio. In this visit, through a country then a wilderness, he endured many privations, and suffered much fatigue and exposure, and has often been heard to say, that he felt peace of mind, and gratitude for the Divine protection and support which he experienced, throughout the arduous service. Friends of this monthly meeting, amongst whom he walked with exemplary circumspection, in much unity and nearness of affection, during many of the last and best years of his life, can testify from personal knowledge, with what innocence and child-like simplicity, conformably with the meekness and gentleness of Christ, he deported himself; with what sweetness he manifested that he was in possession of that love, which is the essential characteristic of the gospel; with what clearness, to the last, he bore witness to the universality and efficacy of the "*One Spirit*," by which all who yield to its influences are baptized into one body, and become living members of the church of Christ; often quoting in his public communications, and with great earnestness and force, dwelling upon that declaration of the apostle Paul, deeply interesting in the spiritual relation:—"The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good

works:"—in a word, how he adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, by a life and conversation becoming the gospel. He appeared, for some time before his last sickness, to have a presentiment that the time of his sojourning was drawing to a close, and frequently mentioned it to his family, accompanied with the consolatory reflection that he was prepared to obey the summons,—that he felt no fears, and saw no cloud in his way; that having honestly endeavoured to be faithful to the discoveries of duty upon his mind, he could adopt the testimony of the same apostle, when he had the termination of life full in view: "The time of my departure is at hand; I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing."

In the latter part of the 9th month, he was taken with his last sickness, which was not attended by much bodily pain. He lay in great calmness and resignation, having no will of his own about the issue, but cheerfully committing all to the Sovereign Disposer of events. In the communications addressed to his family who were with him, he confirmed with his dying breath, the testimony which he had sustained through a long series of years, that it is only by a single attention and obedience to the manifestations of the principle of Divine light and life in the soul, that we can attain to life and salvation; and that, however we may, like Nicodemus formerly, be brought by outward observation to acknowledge Christ as a teacher come from God, yet this

would not be sufficient; as we might still be ignorant of the spiritual nature of the gospel dispensation, and of the nature of that internal power, which alone can raise the soul, dead in trespasses and sins, to spiritual life, by the resurrection of Christ. In this resigned state he remained, patiently waiting his change, and quietly departed on the 11th day of the 10th month, 1826, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

The foregoing was approved by the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, 1827.



EXHORTATION

Of Edward Foulke, sen'r. to his Children.

MY DEAR CHILDREN—

There has been for a considerable time, something on my mind to say to you by way of advice, before I return to dust, and resign my soul to him who gave it: though I find some difficulty in delivering my thoughts in writing.

My first admonition to you, is, that you fear the Lord, and depart from evil all the days of your life.

Secondly, as you are brothers and sisters, I beseech you to love one another, and your neighbours too. If any of your neighbours injure you, in word or deed, bear it with patience and humility. It is more pleasing in the sight of God and good men, to forgive injuries, than it is to revenge them. Rather pray for them, than wish them any evil: lest that text in scripture, which requires an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, come into your minds when you leave this world, and you be found wanting. For, without doubt, he that is thoughtless and negligent

all his days about the welfare of his soul, will, some day or another, in the midst of his extremity, call on the rocks and mountains to secure him from the vengeance of an offended God.

My dear children, accustom not yourselves to loose, vain talking, which the scriptures declare against. It was hurtful to me in my youth, and stopped my virtue. The temptations of this world are very powerful, as Job said by experience. Be watchful over your evening conversation. Let pious thoughts possess your souls the moment before you close your eyes for sleep. If you do that, you will be more likely to find yourselves in the morning in a meek, humble posture before God, who preserved you from evil. This will produce peace and calmness of mind, with a blessing in your outward affairs: as we read of Isaac, whose pious meditations in the field was rewarded with outward and inward blessings.

I desire you not to reject the least appearance of good which may arise in your minds, as if it could be obtained at pleasure. Give speedy obedience unto God who begets this divine motion in your hearts; for a man's abode in this world is very doubtful. It often happens that death comes without warning: yet we must go whether ready or not—where the tree falls, there it must be. I knew a man in the land of my nativity, that went to bed with his wife at night, and died before morning, unknown to her. Such things are designed, I believe, as a warning to us, that we may arm ourselves against the terrors of such a day. And of such as die after that manner, we have little to say, save that they die and were buried; placing the rest amongst the mysteries of

the Almighty. Hence let us take a view of our own weakness, and judge of one another with charity.

I feel sorrow now in my old age, for want of being more careful and circumspect in my youth. Although I did nothing that brought shame on myself, or grief on my parents; yet there were amongst the loose, inconsistent youth, too many things which they called innocent, without considering they were building on the sand; and I was often drawn into vain mirth with them. There is a vast difference between the two sentences, delivered to those who built on the rock, and those who built on the sand. Our Saviour said of the latter, their fall shall be great.

Let me entreat you, my dear children, assume not the appearance of religion, without a real possession of it in your hearts. Our Saviour compared such as did so, to sepulchres, white without, but within full of dead men's bones. Yet I have better hopes of you, though I mention this.

I have known, at times, something pressing me to read good books, or to go aside in private, to pray: which, if I neglected, and took my liberty other ways, then indifference and hardness would prevail, which deprived me of those good inclinations for a considerable time after. I have also to tell you of my own experience, concerning attending week-day meetings. Whenever I suffered trifling occasions, or my outward affairs and business, if not urgent, to interrupt my going, a cool reflection and serious view made me look upon it as a loss or injury done to my better part; and generally, the business done that day, did not answer my expectations of it in the morning.

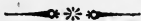
One thing more comes into my mind, by searching myself; which is, that it had been better for me, if I had been more careful, in sitting with my family at meals, with a sober countenance; because children and servants have their eyes and observations on those who have the command and government of them. It has a great influence on the life and manners of youth.

So my dear children, perhaps some of you may get some advantage by this. If you consider with attention this innocent simplicity of life and manners I have been speaking of, you need not fear but that God will preserve you in safety from the snares of the devil, and the storms of this inconstant world. By diligence also, you shall obtain victory over the deceitfulness of riches. I fear there are too many of this age, who suffer themselves to be carried away with this torrent of corruption. And not only such as content themselves, as it were, in the outward porch; but also such as make greater pretences than those: even they who were looked upon as pillars in the church, have, I fear, turned their backs upon it. I lay these things close to you, that you may be careful and diligent whilst you have time left, lest, by degrees, indifference creep upon you under the disguise of an easy mind, and you forget it is he who holds out to the end shall be saved.

And as for your father and mother, our time is almost come to a period. We have lived together above fifty years, and now in our old age, the Lord is as good and as gracious as ever he was. He gives us a comfortable living. Now in the close of our days, we have fresh occasion to acknowledge his benevolence and abounding goodness to us.

Now I think I can with peace of mind conclude, with hopes that your prayers will be for us in the most needful time, especially on a dying pillow, when our time in this world comes to an end, that we may have a gentle passage to eternal rest. I conclude in the words of the prophet Jeremiah, "Set thee up way-marks, make thee high heaps, set thy heart toward the highway, even the way that thou wentest. Turn again, Oh virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities."

Edward Foulke, the author of the preceding essay, was a native of Wales. He was born in 1651. In 1698, he settled with divers of his countrymen, at Gwynedd in Pennsylvania, and shortly after, became a member of the Society of Friends. He died in 1741, at about the age of ninety years. His advices are interesting, especially when viewed as coming from the venerable patriarch of a large and respectable family.



LETTER FROM EDWARD STABLER.

Alexandria, 1st mo. 6th, 1830.

Letters from our absent friends, like visits from their persons, are always acceptable. They both have a direct tendency to awaken and refresh those gentle and tender affections, whose nature is to bless the mind in which they dwell, and to prompt it to use all its efforts to extend its own blessings, by promoting the bliss of others. Thy affectionate letter of 13th ult. produced a measure of these effects upon me. It revived the recollec-

tion of your kindness and fellow-feeling with the poor exercised traveller. And I, moreover, rejoiced in the evidences it afforded, that in thee I had a sister-spirit; alike desirous that the members of the human family might become acquainted with "the truth, as it is in Jesus,"—and be thereby freed from the many things which destroy their peace. All men are desirous to witness this relief—because, to all men, distress and affliction are grievous. But many give their money for those things which are "not bread,"—and "their labour for that which satisfieth not." The world and its glories are set before them in fascinating array;—they think that these will give the bliss they are hungering for;—they try them, and are disappointed, but still pursue the same delusive course.

The appetites and necessities of our animal nature are clamourous for gratification,—and it is right that they should be reasonably satisfied; "your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things." But when the soul degrades herself, by making *these* her treasures,—then *she* "*falls from heaven to earth,*" and finds her desires a "*bottomless pit,*" that never can be filled with things of this kind.—How obvious then is the benevolence and wisdom of that counsel; "seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof." But in relation to *this kingdom*, there exists a deplorable degree of misconception among the children of men. In vain have the scriptures testified from the highest authority, that "the kingdom of heaven is within us"—that it consists in "righteousness, peace, and joy, in the Holy Spirit." In vain does the experience of all intelligent beings continually bear witness, that

these are *realities*, and may be *known*,—and *sought after*,—and attained; and that when attained, “the work of righteousness is always peace,—and the effect of it, quietness and *assurance*, forever.” For, in opposition to all this weight of evidence, it appears as if few were disposed to seek for it *there*—or to call upon that life, in which “they live, and move, and have their being,” and that is always ready to bless and to save them. But on the contrary, they are looking *outward*, and to *futurity* only; not considering, that in *futurity*, as well as at the *present*, the righteous only can be blessed,—and there never can be any peace to the wicked, neither in time nor eternity.

The whole tenor of human experience confirms this truth. A sick man cannot know the feelings of health until disease is removed, with its anguish and pains. Hunger can only be obviated by food, and darkness, by light, &c. In like manner, (and equally certain by experience) the powers of evil being unchangeable in their nature, must always act as disease, hunger, and darkness do; they must produce misery and affliction forever. But when they are cast out of the soul by the powers of righteousness, these also are alike unchangeable in their nature, and their influences produce “peace, joy, and holiness of spirit” forever. How much it is to be lamented, my dear M., that this *field* of living facts and certainties, is so heedlessly overlooked by our fellow creatures; and that instead of labouring *in it*, where they might be continually “receiving wages, and gathering fruit unto life eternal,” they turn their attention to the “winds of doctrines,” and to unprofitable speculations, which leave their minds

as much a prey to all sorts of evil, as if they made no profession of religion at all.

I rejoice in believing that thy mind has long since been convinced, that "the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power"—and that thou hast found its truth and certainty, in the power of innocence to make thee innocent—of love, to make thee affectionate—of kindness, to make thee kind—and of gentleness, to make thee gentle, &c. And my best affections commend thee to that precious foundation of Eternal Power, from which all these proceed, and in the language of the apostle, "*that*, whereunto thou hast already attained, walk by the same rule, mind the same thing"—and there cannot be one shadow of doubt, that thou wilt thereby be made like the "King's daughter—all glorious within."

My affectionate remembrance is presented to thy dear father and mother, and to friends in your place. I often think of you all, with much earnestness of desire, that in the present day of conflict and trial, my dear friends may not suffer any "root of bitterness" to spring up in their hearts to trouble them; for where the "gall of bitterness" subsists, there also is "the bond of iniquity," and its cause.—Farewell, my dear M. It will be very grateful to me, to be remembered by thee in the covenant of Christian fellowship,—and any communications from thy pen will be always acceptable to thy friend,

EDWARD STABLER.

EZRA TOWNSEND'S TESTIMONY.

Concerning his father, John Townsend, late of Bensalem township, Bucks county, deceased.

The steady and exemplary conduct of my dear father, and his parental care over me, from my earliest years till the time of his departure from this world,—have made such impressions on my mind, as to induce me to commit to writing some remarks and observations which I have made on his conduct and conversation; in order that his memory, which to me is precious, may not soon be obliterated from the minds of my family.

He was born on Long Island the 7th of 1st month, 1723-4, old style, of parents who were in a good measure careful to train him up “in the way he should go.” His father was taken from him by death, in his youthful days; which left him more at liberty to launch into the follies and excesses of life, to which youth, without parental care and restraint, are liable; but from which he was mercifully preserved.

Having a small patrimony bequeathed to him by his father, he therewith purchased a plantation in Bensalem, Bucks county, Pennsylvania. About the twenty-second year of his age, he took to himself a help-meet, Grace Croasdale, daughter of Jeremiah Croasdale, of Middletown. On this farm they resided till the time of his decease, which was about fifty-six years. During which time, so far as I have heard and observed, his conduct and conversation were remarked by most, if not all who knew him, for moderation and innocence. His talents, though not brilliant and conspicuous to superficial observers,

were good; his judgment and understanding, in a good measure, sound and clear. He never appeared anxious to accumulate wealth; but chose to live, and keep his children, low and humble,—being averse to every thing which tended to aggrandizement or exaltation, in external show or appearance: nevertheless, industry and frugality were conspicuous in his character.

He was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a kind neighbour, and an exemplary and useful member of society, both in a religious and civil capacity. His constitution naturally was but weak and feeble; yet the moderation and temperance which he uniformly observed in all things, with the blessings of Providence, obtained for him such an uninterrupted state of health, that I scarcely remember his being confined to his room, wholly, for one day, perhaps for twenty or twenty-five years, in the meridian and decline of his life. About the seventy-third year of his age, however, he had a season of severe sickness; from which he never altogether gained his former state of health; but so far recovered, that he attended meetings pretty regularly till within a few months of his decease; which took place in a quiet manner, corresponding with his life, on the 5th of 4th month, in the year 1800; having been confined to his bed but one day preceding the day of his departure, though inwardly weak, and more than usually feeble, for several weeks previous;—during which time, he told me he hoped a blessing would attend me for my care towards my parents. Several times he expressed his apprehension that his time would be short; and said he hoped all would be well, though he laid no

claim to any merit, but depended on the free mercy of his Redeemer. A few hours before he died, he took an affectionate leave of my mother,—told me that it had been a great comfort to him that his only surviving child had apparently taken pretty good ways, and that he hoped it was so. He also remarked, that I was pretty much encumbered with business for other people, and charged me to keep humble. He also said he was pleased that I was qualified to be useful, but that no qualification whatever was a sufficient cause for exaltation of mind.

In a message to his daughter-in-law, he said he desired a blessing might attend her and her children. He charged one of his grandsons to be a good boy, and a blessing would attend him. To the other he said, "Mind thy grandfather. Be a good boy. Do as thy father and mother bid thee. Keep out of bad company. Do as well as thee knows; and the blessing of the Lord will rest upon thee. Mind and keep out of bad company: it is very hurtful."

To a friend, he said, "I am going the way of all flesh. I do not know that it is any matter how soon. I hope all will be well." A little while after, said, "I am too weak to say much."

He was entirely sensible to the last, and forsook his earthly tabernacle as quietly, and with as little acute pain, as perhaps almost any have experienced. The dark road of death was, through the cheering presence of his gracious Redeemer, I apprehend, made smooth and easy to him.

His age was seventy-six years and about eighteen days.

EZRA TOWNSEND,

4th month 6th, 1800.

To the foregoing testimony concerning John Townsend it may be added, that he was a friend, remarkable for regularity of temper and conduct, through the whole course of his life. After his marriage and settlement, he became a serviceable member of religious society, filled various important stations in the church with much dignity and propriety, and in the concerns of social and civil society, he supported the character of a sincere, honest man. His benevolence and charity to the poor and afflicted, were without ostentation. While he was an example of industry and economy, he was yet temperate in all things. In his food and raiment, he was plain and simple. In the temperature of his diet, he carefully avoided the extremes of heat and cold, and high seasoned dishes. To this circumstance, and the prudent care he took of his health, may, in some measure, be attributed the uninterrupted enjoyment of that invaluable blessing, during most of his life. He had four children; all of whom, except the writer of the preceding article, he followed to the grave some years before his death.

In the government of his family, and the education of his children, he exercised his authority with mildness and affection, and yet with firmness. The following Essay on the subject of a religious and proper care over children and youth, manifests the concern which he felt; in accordance with which, his own example was a practical illustration of the rectitude of his views.

In the 1st month, 1761, John Townsend was appointed to fill the station of an elder of Byberry meeting. In this important office for the well ordering of the affairs of society, he continued during

the remainder of his life. By reference to vol. 1, page 52, it will be perceived that he accompanied James Thornton on a religious visit to Bucks county in the year 1774. At what particular date his Observations on the Ministry, which are hereto subjoined, were written, we are not informed, but they are evidently the product of observation, experience, and sound discriminating judgment; worthy of being known and attended to by all concerned.

In a testimony delivered by a ministering friend at the funeral of John Townsend, it was said he had been so circumspect in his conduct, that there was probably none who could charge him with error.

“Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.”

On a religious care over Children.

“Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not depart from it when he is old,” I think are the sayings of the wise king Solomon. And although we may not see the effects of our care immediately, yet it may be like “bread cast upon the waters,” which may be gathered after many days. I have thought natural affection might be some inducement for parents to have that care over their tender offspring; but alas! there are many instances where parents have made a pretty good appearance, yet have indulged their children, perhaps in all the superfluities they crave. And some parents seem to delight to put them on their children, when infants: thus they are brought up from their cradles. I have thought, when the parents are *both* rightly

concerned in the education of their children, it makes the work easy; but when parents are not agreed, there's but little hopes.

But there is another class of children, which many of us have under our care, perhaps some fatherless and motherless, not members of any religious society, yet have souls to save or lose as well as our own children. We may consider how we would have our children used, were they to be put under the care of strangers; and let us do so by them, according to the golden rule, to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us. I believe some heads of families are too thoughtless respecting such children; so that they do their work faithfully, whether they attend places of religious worship, or stay at home, or get into idle company; so that they are at home when wanted to do their work—not considering themselves as delegated shepherds, appointed by the great Shepherd of Israel to have a watchful eye over their little flocks, whether their own, or other people's children, to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom: and especially to endeavour to keep them out of evil company, which I believe is exceedingly hurtful to young people. I allow the task is difficult to keep them in proper subjection; but if we do our best endeavours, with desires for a blessing upon our labour, we shall be clear.

JOHN TOWNSEND.

6th month 12th, 1793.

Observations on Ministry.

Having, for a considerable time past, had many thoughts respecting the ministry, and the conduct of ministering Friends, I thought I felt a freedom, at least, to put down some of them in writing: although I may confess, I have thought myself so poor a judge of the ministry, that I have seldom attempted to say much about it. One observation that I have made, is, that ministering Friends, perhaps all of them, are more lively in their testimonies at some times, than at other times; for which, I have thought, several reasons might be alleged. The fault may sometimes be in the hearer; his mind not being prepared to receive it. One reason may be, the preacher may have a commission to preach at one time; and at another time, may speak by permission. And it is no strange thing to me, if they are more highly favoured at some times than at other times.

I believe it is a great thing for ministers of the gospel to know, not only the proper time to rise, but also to sit down. I have thought, such who have large gifts in the ministry, and are fluent in expressing themselves, are in more danger of overstanding the proper time, than some others. Upon the whole, I believe it is a dispensation of close trial and exercise, in order to keep on the right Foundation.

There is another thing that I have often thought of: ministering friends had need be exceeding watchful over their words and actions, and their conduct in every respect; that they do not, by any rash conduct, give any just occasion of offence. For, when

the affections of the people are gone, and their minds shut up through prejudice, what will preaching do for them? Humility, as I apprehend, is one of the most beautiful ornaments of a gospel minister.

I have simply put down the above remarks, and am willing to submit them to those of better judgment, or to the consideration of all whom it may concern.

- JOHN TOWNSEND.



BRIEF ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM MAHAN.

William Mahan, son of Zephaniah and Ann Mahan, of Bucks county, was born the 7th of the 7th month, 1807. From his infancy, he was always a dutiful and affectionate child, and manifested a sedateness and gravity beyond his years; so that he seldom indulged in play, as is common with children. He appeared to love retirement and sobriety, and very early showed, not only a willingness, but a desire to attend religious meetings.

As he grew towards the state of manhood, he bore a faithful testimony against the use of distilled spirituous liquors. He never partook of any himself, as he believed the use of them was an evil, and that storekeepers retailing them out in neighbourhoods, had a very hurtful tendency.

He endeavoured, according to his ability, to promote peace and good will among mankind. The weakness and failings of his fellow creatures excited his pity; but he was careful not to judge and condemn them. He often cautioned those who indulged themselves in speaking lightly or disrespectfully of others, saying, if ever a reformation took place, it

must be within ourselves, individually; and there would be work enough at home.

Although he was educated in habits of plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel, yet he had a testimony in these respects, when young. When grown up towards the age of a man, he was, at one time, under considerable temptation to follow the fashions of dress, like others; but he was preserved therefrom by the great Caretaker, who showed him the vanity and danger of following his selfish inclinations. Being thus favoured to set a good example, his stability was remarked by those who have no greater joy than to see their children walking in the truth. His retirement was accompanied with the practice of frequently reading the scriptures and other religious books, in which he appeared to take much interest and satisfaction.

As his constitution was weakly, he did not appear fitted for laborious employments; and having improved himself so as to be qualified for teaching small children, he engaged in a school; which he kept for three months, and then removed to another near Neshaminy, where he was taken unwell, and returned home about the 26th of 5th month, 1828. Shortly after, he expressed to some about him his apprehension that he should not live. On the 4th of 6th month, on being asked by his father whether he thought he was prepared to leave this world, he answered, "I know of nothing to the contrary.—The promise is, they that hold out to the end shall be saved." At another time he said, "I have been much tried on account that I have been so much of my time so stupid and sleepy, and feeling so bad; (alluding to his sickness) but they that hold out to

the end in well-doing, shall be saved." His father sitting by him, and reading in the New Testament, came to the place where it says of Jesus, "he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit, like a dove, descending upon him;" when he expressed himself thus, "The heavens opened at that time; and so they will now, to receive all those that are concerned above every thing else, to hold out to the end."

His grandmother asked him if he was resigned to the will of God. He said, "Yes, I am resigned to his will, whether it is to raise me again, or to take me away." One of his relations taking leave of him he looked earnestly at him, and said, "I am in hopes thee is doing as well as thee can."

He was for a time delirious, but when his mind became calm, he expressed himself thus; "I have often thought that people who have no families to provide for, need not be so unwilling to leave the world. I am aware that it is an awful thing to die. But it dont appear as if it would be alarming to me; for the promise is to all that hold out to the end, that they shall be saved. Let us be careful in all our dealings, our conduct and conversation, so as not to wound the feelings of any body. Let us in all things show a Christian spirit, so as to make every body love us. E. Paxson told me the way to make people love me would be to please my employers; and I believe I have no enemies."

To one of his brothers, he said, "Thee is designed for some good purpose; but thee has a nature like other young men. Now I want thee to keep on the watch, for our natures are various and unsteady; though I dont think my disposition has been a very uneven one. On third-day morning I felt my mind

brought into a gathered state, and I thought I should not feel easy without having some conversation with thee." He then said, "I dont know that I shall get well, seeing that I am sick every day. Now I want thee to keep to plainness. I once thought I would dress as fine as other young men; but was preserved from it. I want thee to set a good example, and live up to the profession we are making, and come into the principle of our primitive Friends."

He laboured to show the necessity there was for him not to place his dependance on any thing outward, but inwardly to keep on the watch; "for," said he, "the work is an inward and spiritual work. I have seen for some time past, that it would not do for me to put any dependance on man. I have also seen the many dangers that young people are exposed to." Then turning to his father, he said, "Father I want thee to feel for the young people in their visited state."

The 9th of 6th month, he requested his father to settle his business and pay for his boarding. He then said, "If I should not live, I want thee to let J. Paxson's family (especially their mother, for she has been like a mother to me) and J. Buckman's, where I boarded, know the state of my mind." The same evening, he said, "Father has told me that he did not think that I would live to be a man; and I shall not be twenty-one years old until next month. Sometimes the son is taken before the father, but it dont always happen so."

The next day, when all were out of the room but his sister, he said he should die soon. She called in the family, and he seemed sensible that he was

going. His father asked him if he was ready? He said "yes;" and then quietly departed this life, the 10th of the 6th month, 1828.

In a letter he wrote to an uncle in Chester county, a few months before his decease, are these expressions: "When we contemplate the uncertainty of time, and the awfulness of eternity, there to appear before an all-wise Judge, is it not enough to make us say with David, Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Let this be our sincere desire, and let us strive to be prepared to die; then shall we also be prepared to live."

In allusion to a youth who died after a short illness, he writes: "This young man, a little while ago, was well, but is now gone, and all the powers of man could not bring him to life. Under a consideration of these things, and the uncertainty of time to us here, how necessary for us to watch and pray daily; for 'men ought always to pray and not to faint.' Therefore, dear uncle, to be prepared to die is of vast more importance than all the perishing things of time. In this state, thou wilt be prepared rightly to enjoy the things of this world, and to bring up thy tender offspring in a proper manner. Solomon says, 'train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' If children were trained up in a way of preservation so as to guard them from malice, envy, contention, strife, and all evil; at seasons, when the mantle of Divine love was spread over them, during the time of their visitation, they would become rightly impressed with the necessity of learning so to live, as

not to fear to die. I therefore hope thou wilt consider these things; for man was made to prepare for death, and not to live here always.

WILLIAM MAHAN."



A TESTIMONY

From Friends of Upper Evesham, concerning our beloved friend, Martin Moody, deceased.

He was the son of Zimri and Esther Moody, of Woodbury, in the county of Litchfield, and state of Connecticut, and was born in or about the year 1772. His parents being in the profession of the Episcopal church, carefully instructed him in that way, and furnished him with a liberal education. But as he attained to mature age, he became uneasy with the forms and ceremonies connected with his education, considering them altogether inadequate to procure him that inward peace, which his heart panted after. This circumstance, in some degree, occasioned him to leave his father's house.

From some account which he preserved, it appears, that from his childhood he was desirous to know the Lord; his heart being susceptible of tenderness, and feelings open to receive the true seed of righteousness. Yet, through the prejudice of education, he was biassed in his observations, and his conceptions of things appertaining to salvation. Nevertheless, after arriving at manhood, for purposes altogether concealed from his human penetration, he felt an unusual draft of mind toward the Southern States—which, after deliberate consideration, he concluded might be for some glorious event;

and, being resigned to follow the impulse, he came to the town of Rahway, in East Jersey; where he found a favourable situation of becoming acquainted with the Society of Friends. After informing himself of their principles, which concurred with the secret sensations of his heart, he felt an anxious desire to attend their meeting. He accordingly went, and was effectually reached by the powerful testimony of a female minister, who, in her communication, made use of these words; “we must be weaned from the breasts of this world”—which co-operating with the Divine visitation in his own mind, he was drawn to seek an acquaintance with that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

After a short stay at Rahway, he removed to the neighbourhood of Evesham, and was, in due time, on application, received into membership with Friends. His exemplary diligence in the attendance of meetings, and his humble, awful waiting therein, were instructive. After passing through many deep and humbling baptisms, he was, at times, drawn forth in the line of the ministry, in which his communications, though short, were truly edifying, and made him feel near to many Friends.

His outward occupation while with us was teaching school; which station he was enabled to fill with propriety and real usefulness. But he did not suffer the important concerns of his business to abate his zeal for the promotion of the cause of Truth, and for procuring to himself an incorruptible inheritance, which he sometimes expressed, was his principle view in this life. In the prosecution of his duty, he felt his mind engaged to attend the Yearly Meet-

ing held in Philadelphia in the 9th month, 1798. Notwithstanding the awful prospect that appeared to await such an undertaking, in consequence of the prevalence of the malignant fever in the city, yet he was enabled, with calmness and fortitude, to dispose of his temporal concerns, previous thereto; and to resign himself to the disposal of the Supreme Controller of events. He attended the sitting and adjournment of said meeting, with peace of mind, accompanied with a mental prayer to the Lord to preserve him, if consistent with his Divine will; and he was favoured to become perfectly resigned thereto.

After his return from the city, his usual health of body and quietude of mind continuing a few days, he expressed to an intimate friend, the solacing satisfaction which he had been partaker of, at, and since his attendance of the Yearly Meeting. But on fourth-day following, feeling some bodily indisposition, he entertained apprehensions of an attack of the malignant fever, which, in a short time, became confirmed. He was supported under the pressure and increase of the disorder, with christian fortitude and resignation, until the ninth day of its progress, when he quietly departed this life, on the 6th of the 10th month, 1798.

The following Letter appears to have been written soon after his return from the Yearly Meeting:

Third-day morning, at Wm. Roberts's.

Friend J. T.,—By the permission of the all-benificent Master, I am now returned hither, well and in good spirits; I may say in truth, I have been through the valley of the shadow of death, in one

sense, and have not fallen a victim to its all-devouring ravages; but, as it were, death is swallowed up in victory, in this particular travel.

“Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther,” said the Most High, in time past; and I have to be thankful in believing, that his vouchsafing mercy will continue to be extended, not only to me, if I am passive to his will, in time of distress; but to others also, if their obedience keep pace with knowledge. I dared not so much as think of ever having the opportunity of returning again, when I parted with thee at thy father’s. But how many privileges should we be admitted to, that we dare not so much as think of, if we walked so as to deserve them.

Thy father went with me next morning to the ferry, and expressed his satisfaction in so doing.—After we parted, I quickly crossed and seated myself in Pine Street meeting; saying in my heart, O Lord, preserve me in safety, if it is consistent with thy holy will; but if it is not, let me peaceably die. It seems it has been his holy will to keep me thus far; but whether I am yet to go, or not, by this visit to town, time only can evince.

I expect to attend Moorestown meeting to-day; to-morrow, Upper Evesham; fifth-day, Evesham; and at evening home, if the Lord will. Our Yearly Meeting is adjourned to the second second-day in the 12th month, after a long, trying, travailing exercise, of four hours consultation and sympathy.

Thy friend,

MARTIN MOODY.

The following Letter, written a few months previous to his decease, is also thought worthy of preservation:

Cropwell, 6th mo. 23rd, 1798.

Esteemed friend, Martha Allinson,—

It hath been much impending in my mind, to transmit a few lines to thee, expressive of the grateful sensations which have originated from the mutual sympathy of those burden-bearers, who unreserved lend their necks to the spiritual yoke; but the fumes of care, and the shades of inward exercise, have so bedewed and fumigated my mind, as to disqualify me for an undertaking of this kind till now.

True it is, ah! as if the expression was but one day old, that a Christian's life is a continual warfare. Yet the faithful and obedient are blessed with another truth as great and true as this, if they continue firm and steadfast unto the end, that they shall inherit the reward laid up for the faithful.

How it may fare with thee, I know not, save by that knowledge which supersedes all human certainty. But whatever are thy depressions of body or mind, I believe thou, with me, will find this one thing verified, that the great Preserver, to whom we look for help, (if we look rightly) will never suffer us to be borne down so low, as not to be able to raise us up again. This one consideration, esteemed friend, hath often proved a Samson in my heart, even when Philistian hostilities of the mind raged with uncircumcised violence; and it hath afforded me both honey and strength to the full fruition of my languid mind.

I believe the temperature of the heart is an object which religion seeks to work into a right and sanctified affection towards God. When the mind and its adherents are besmeared with the impurities of carnal ambition, it is in no suitable condition to meditate upon the divine attributes and excellencies of our spotless Creator; for the contemplation of immaculate purity is of such an exquisite texture, that the gross imaginations of a mind involved in filthiness, can never penetrate into its charming and beauteous properties. This makes it needful for me, often to endeavour to cleanse the inside of the sepulchre, and not to furnish it with wreaths and laurels of self-commendation, but leave it empty and capable of receiving the reviving Guest of weary souls.

As we are by nature prone to error, and swervings from that line of rectitude, which the great Master hath stretched in the region of our hearts, and which, perhaps, may be a coadjutor with the Comforter that was to be sent and to lead us into all Truth,—so we should let our importunate humility keep pace with our failures, by looking constantly to Him alone for help, who is able to give, and that without upbraiding.

“Pray without ceasing,” often comes into my mind; but many times when I open the door of my heart to pour out my sorrows and grief, I have such a sense of my unworthiness, that I feel as if the query of “who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?” would be all that my feeble petitions deserved. Yet there is a hope.—“Seeing then we have such hope;” and this hope is an encouragement; and this encouragement is an

excitement to stimulate and aid my strivings towards the strait and narrow path.

Although we may be oftentimes assailed with the devices and temptations of the evil one, yet a constant warfare in the Lamb's service will, as far as our humility extends, entitle us to the privilege of abasing ourselves before the Giver of all good gifts, and imploring his guidance in our exercising travels; and if we ask not amiss, doubtless we shall receive; and his grace is sufficient for us; so as we are by grace, and the knowledge which is imparted to us by an enlightened understanding, made conquerors, let us be faithful, and I believe we shall be enabled to suppress these empty foibles of the enemy's contriving; and have strength imparted to us, to triumph over his unruly innovations, which are so often committing riots upon the well-meaning desires of our hearts. Moreover, in proportion to our allegiance to the power and strength intrusted with us, I have a hope that we shall become more and more formidable in the warfare of Christendom; till, by the patronage and aid of the all-wise Providence, we may have power to expel the whole host of spiritual enemies, and to drive out all the insurgents of the mind, and cleanse the recesses of the heart, to such a degree, as that it may become a welcome temple for the indwelling of the Lord. This is a renovation of the creature, which that Gospel that is "the power of God unto salvation," begets in the inner man; and this is the overture and revival of the mind and its affections, which that Gospel, of which none need be ashamed, and that alone, can ever effectuate to the acceptance of God.

Every of us, less or more, in a degree, as we are less or more inclinable to evil, I believe are less or more averse to that which is good; and before the latter either can or will have much place in the heart, the former must be banished from its haunt, and by its remoteness, make room for the heart's superior Guest.

"Evil communications corrupt good manners," we have been told by one of those great luminaries of the church, who has long since set, and finished his race. Evil communing, or, communing with evil, hath a tendency to corrupt good; because, while we commune, there is a subsisting propensity to interchange and communicate; and as things can communicate of their properties only, so we seek for that which cannot be found, if we look for any thing from evil communications, but corruption.—This induces me often to say to myself, flatter not thy inclinations with the diminutiveness of the evil, nor plead for that which kills, however small.—Know thou that it is the worst of deaths, to die by inches. And if evils are small, they may be easily resisted;—if they are large, He in whom we "live and move, and have our being," is omnipotent, all-conquering, and withholdeth nothing from his faithful servants, that he in best wisdom judgeth meet to bestow. So that there is not only encouragement for us to lay out a little of our strength, but even to press forward with all our might, towards the mark of the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus.—But again, let us not press till we feel ourselves pressed, and as it were, invited to accept the mercies and blessings of our dear Lord and Master.

Let us not, like Ahimaaz and Cush, run before we are sent; nor speak, till we are bespoken; meanwhile being attentive to, and obeying, when the manifestations of the Divine will, in its pointings and movings, are clearly opened unto us: since we may mean well, and do wrong; nay, we may run wrong in a right race. Therefore, I say it again, a Christian's life is a continual warfare, and blessed are they who keep it up.

The same steps are not for all to take, nor the same days for all to observe. "One esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike." Howbeit, he that esteemeth or regardeth the day, or his steps, esteemeth and regardeth them to the Lord; or else, I believe, he doth not regard them.

With desires that the concern, and the concerned, for the growth and welfare of the Lord's household, may increase and become established among us, till righteousness covers the earth, as the waters cover the sea, I subscribe myself thy friend,

MARTIN MOODY.

P. S. I have been accustomed to apologize for my manner of expressions heretofore, but I have laid that pretty much by for the present, and am resigned to use that kind of words which is most familiar. My love to thyself and family, as though named. Thou signified an intention to revisit Cropwell in harvest-time; for which purpose I shall also adjourn school; and if thou should feel thy mind drawn to some of the neighbouring meetings, in the time of thy stay here, I should be glad that thou would lay thy commands upon some of us to bear thee company.

CHRISTOPHER WILSON'S WARNING AND LAMENTATION.

Graysouthen, 30th of 6th mo. 1759.

Whereas, I, Christopher Wilson, of Graysouthen, in the county of Cumberland, have been, through Divine goodness, mercifully favoured with the blessed visitations of Divine Truth, not only to myself, for my own reconciliation to Almighty God, but he hath opened my heart at times, largely to preach the glad tidings of the Gospel to others; and I had a sufficiency to live comfortably upon from my father, with a prudent industry, yet have been, by little and little, drawn into trading to foreign ports, and the Lord hath (I have seen) blasted my endeavours; yet, in hopes to regain what I had lost, ventured out again with a prospect (as I thought) to regain it, and still have been baffled in all my designs, until I am distressed in body and mind, and wish it may be a warning to all Friends for the future, not to launch out in such a manner; those in the ministry especially. Food and raiment is enough. A peaceful mind is more than all the world, if we could gain ever so much. To live in a cottage, and have an easy mind, eating bread and drinking water, is preferable to large dealings in trade. Oh! that you ministers of the Truth may take warning, and be content with what you have. A low station best suits a living minister of Christ;—to eat sparingly, cloath just decently, to have the mind free from cumber, and open to receive every impression of Truth, and free to run when the Lord draws. He can bless beyond our expectation; he can open a

way for you unseen; or blast all your endeavours, if you extend beyond what is prudent, or be a bad example to others.

I now see my mistake, though acted with no bad design; having at first lost a little, I then promised myself, if I could but get as much as to leave off where I began, I would be happy and content, with a full purpose and resolution to stop there, and live quietly. But Oh! one misfortune hath followed another; one loss added to another hath brought me to this distress of mind; and now I conclude it will break my heart that any body should lose by me; or that the great name and cause I've endeavoured to promote, by expense of body, substance, and all I was capable, should be evil spoken of on my account. Oh! this comes near to me, and rends my very soul, and weighs me even to the very grave. Would the mighty Lord, whom I desire to serve, (if I am stript like Job) but throw something in my way, to leave me only food and raiment, a cottage, though the meanest, and water to drink, it would content me, provided that excellent Name might but pass unstained. I condemn to the world (whoever sees this) and utterly detest my own proceedings herein; and testify to all people, I have missed my way, and yet have some faith that good Providence will not leave me destitute of the comforts of his Holy Spirit, which I value more than all. And if I go to the grave with anxiety and distress of mind, I've comfortable hope that God will forgive me; and if I can but pay every body their own, and leave me neither bread nor bed, I shall go down to the grave in peace, and have a confidence the Lord will provide for my offspring. Oh, my poor wife and tender

babes! may God be with you and bless you, but with increase of goodness. Let food and raiment content you. A cottage and an easy mind, is as a king's palace to a virtuous heart. If my friends condemn me, I submit to it, if it may but wipe off the reproach from Truth.

I conclude with this unfeigned prayer: Good God, bear up my drooping spirits; be with me in the night season; keep me from despair; I've no trust but in thee; I've no pleasure, save in thy heavenly presence. A cloud is come over every enjoyment; thick darkness covers all visible enjoyments; pain, anxiety, and the gloomiest prospects, appear in every part of this visible creation. Lord, deliver me! Lord, save me! Lord, appear now for my help; 'tis now the needful time. Thou deliveredst Daniel from the den of lions, and the three children from the fiery furnace; and caused thy Son to walk with them in the midst of the flames, so that they escaped unhurt. Is thy arm shortened? or hath space and time worn out the omnipotence of thy power? thou deliverer out of all distress! Oh! put hooks in the jaws of the great leviathan, that plays on the troubled sea, and disdains all superiority; and Lord, I'll submit to thy work; I'll follow thee what way thou leadest; but Oh! let thy own name be preserved by me, and not stained on my account. Open a way for me through the great deep, to get clear on firm land; that no deceit nor counsel, but honesty and uprightness, may ever be my guide; that whether it be to remove into America, or what way to turn,—make way, make way. Thou art as strong as ever. Omnipotence stands at thy right hand, and unconquerable strength on thy left; that I may yet say

by experience, thou rules in the kingdoms of men. Lord, keep me in patience, in love, in divine sweetness, to conquer all my enemies, for thine is the power, kingdom and glory for ever and ever. Amen! Amen! Amen!

CHRISTOPHER WILSON.



FOTHERGILL'S LETTER.

Letter from Samuel Fothergill to Mary, the wife of Mordecai Yarnall, while he was in England on a religious visit.

Warrington, 9th of the 3rd mo. 1758.

Dear friend, Mary Yarnall,—

I have not forgot the relief which I, at times, met with in your country, by Friends mitigating the inevitable pain of absence, by giving my wife some account of me, when I might be prevented doing it by such engagements as necessarily attend a sincere endeavour to discharge our duty in the service of our ever-worthy Lord and Master.—Experience hath taught me sympathy: and the very sincere regard I have for thy dear husband, thyself, and the children, demands a testimony of it, on the present occasion.

I was, by a slight indisposition, prevented accompanying him to the Quarterly meeting in Cheshire, to which he set out this morning, accompanied by my wife and Samuel Emlen; and we expect him here again in a few days. He is bravely in health, and inwardly and outwardly, well; being preserved in that happy stability, which is in the middle of the path of true judgment. His service is truly ac-

ceptable to the living: and by the haste he is allowed by his wise and gracious Master to make, may be expected to be clear sooner than many others that have come here from your land. The tender connexions of nature, confirmed by the yet stronger cement of Divine love, which establish your union, will, doubtless, often suggest a secret anxious wish for his return home to his beloved relatives: but, whilst natural affection prompts to wish his return, may a suitable deference ever be paid to that direction which is wise, and in whose sacred allotment the joyous events of human life are sanctified, and the adverse rendered sweet.

I early felt with, and for thee, when he was suffered to fall into the hands of unreasonable men. But he whom thy dear husband served, set bounds to their wrath, and vouchsafed a speedy deliverance. And why may we not suppose the Lord of the harvest perfectly wise, in now and then lighting a candle in those lands, where darkness prevails? It is, doubtless, consistent with *his* sovereignty and goodness, who would bless the utmost borders of his ample empire, and “make the place of his feet glorious.” He who cares for the sparrows, and hath numbered the hairs of our head, mercifully presides among his people,—divides the spoil to those who, in his strength, go out to war, and allots a share to those who stay at home, in their duty, filling up their places. I am persuaded beyond a doubt, that the merciful Father cares for what we leave behind us, blesses often with prosperity, often and always with patience, as we look towards him. If outward affairs are not beneath his providential notice, how much more those to whom we stand in

a nearer relation,—those pledges of mutual love. The example of tender parents may be in measure vacated; yet the deficiency is made up, by the interposition of the ever-present, and all-sufficient Father. I remember, as at this time it is fresh with me, that in my honourable father's absence, (he being in your land) the humbling, converting hand effectually prevailed on me, to embrace the day of his visitation. And my heart is anxious that you, the beloved offspring of the Lord's servant, may be enriched with the same blessing,—and that you may give up your names to be inserted in the roll of the Lord's servants, which is the Lamb's book of life. For this, his prayers ascend,—who, having proved the service of the Most High, found it to be freedom, and perfect liberty. May a holy union of spirit unite the whole together, that you may availingly follow after those things which make for your peace;—and may innocent hands be put up to the Almighty, for a beloved father's return to you in safety, and with sheaves in his bosom.

With a heart replenished with unfeigned love, I salute thee, dear friend, and all the children capable of receiving it,—and am thy very affectionate friend,

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.



SOME EXPRESSIONS

Dropped by Mordecai Yarnall, to his children, a short time before his death.

“I believe it to be my duty, (as it was a command given to Israel of old, to exhort his children by the fire-side) to tell of the loving kindness of

God to my soul, during my pilgrimage on earth; that, through the various changes it has been my lot to meet with here, I have ever had a refuge to flee to. And though I have sometimes had to think how nearly I have been tried, even in great tribulation, when in the hands of the enemy, and separated from the near and dear connexions in life,—yet had I faith to believe, that the same Divine Hand which had been with me, and led me safely through the peril of deep waters, would still continue with me to the end. And my confidence was so firmly fixed in him, that he never suffered me once to fail. I always thought I should not want; and have now reason to believe I never shall. He that hath been my Alpha will be my Omega.

And my desire is, that you, my dear children, may steadfastly place your trust and confidence in that same Power which has preserved me;—that the days of your youth may be devoted to his service: and though many may be the close trials that you will have to meet with, in passing along through this world, I have to say for your encouragement, that he will never forsake them that trust in him. He that hath delivered out of six troubles, will not leave in the seventh. Therefore, let not your dependance be on any thing which this world can afford; but in him alone; and he that is the guide to your youth, will become a staff for you to lean upon in your advanced age.”





